



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Inter-European Affairs

The defense ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary—the countries that make up the “Visegrad Triangle”—held a meeting in Budapest, Prague radio reports. “Topical questions of security policy” in the region were discussed, along with relations with NATO. Budapest radio reports the ministers agreed that the presence of U.S. troops in Europe and the strengthening of the “European wing” of NATO “are in the common interest of the east and central European region.” The communique released after the meeting noted the “Visegrad Triangle is not directed against any country,” that the three countries did not aim to form a “closed group,” and that the three countries considered the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty “to be binding” and expected “newly formed countries to take the same position.”

Yugoslavia

International!—Zagreb radio reports that the three leading political parties of Bosnia-Herzegovina sent delegates to Brussels to discuss the future of the republic. The negotiations were chaired by the EC. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party said that negotiations represented “the only way out” and that “if talks are halted, then the situation would begin governing itself.” Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action told reporters that “they were going to Brussels to hear what the Serbian side had to say” but added that “he doubted whether any document would result from the talks” and cautioned that the division of the Republic “was not acceptable to his party.”

Bosnia-Herzegovina—The leader of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia, Reis-ul-Ulema Jakub Selimoski, choose the Muslim holiday of Ramadan to state that “coexistence is possible” in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his address, Sleimoski called for an “achievement of civilization the most needed in these lands” according to TANJUG.

Haris Silajdzic, minister for foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said in an interview with the Hungarian community newspaper MAGYAR SZO that “the Party of Democratic Action has never had any ambition to create an Islamic state.” “We are not fundamentalists, as is sometimes alleged both here and abroad,” Silajdzic said.

Serbia—TANJUG reports that the Democratic Party of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia announced today that so far “579,000 people” had signed a petition requesting “the resignation of President Slobodan Milosevic” and calling for new elections for a constituent assembly.

Czechoslovakia

President Vaclav Havel, in a worldwide interview broadcast by the BBC and Prague radio, said no referendum on Slovak independence had been carried out “so far” because “those political forces that dream about Slovakia becoming independent are the forces that prevent a referendum from taking place.” Havel believes those forces “fight against” a referendum “because they fear that the majority of Slovak citizens would vote in favor of a common state.” Turning to the arms industry, Havel said a decision had been made “to embark on a...far-reaching conversion of the arms industry” but the process could not take place “overnight.” On the subject of the sale of 250 tanks to Syria, Havel said the contract was concluded during the war for Kuwait’s liberation, but that he was “not particularly pleased by this supply...and I firmly believe this is the last supply of its kind.” He said “no supplies of heavy military equipment are being sent to other countries with authoritarian regimes.”

Visegrad Triangle Defense Meeting in Budapest**CSFR Minister on Talks**

*LD0603224492 Prague CSTK in English
2028 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Budapest March 6 (CSTK correspondent)—The defence ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary met here today to agree on the principles of relations to NATO, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told CSTK.

He said the ministers also agreed on joint activities to "contribute to a certain transformation of the North Atlantic Alliance structure, transformation of the...Alliance's policy which is still too strongly stuck in the past concept of bipolar Europe."

Dobrovsky said that in bilateral talks, his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur assured him that nobody in Hungary has in mind any questioning of the validity of borders between Hungary and other states, least of all that of borders between Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Dobrovsky and Poland's Defence Minister Jan Parys discussed the possibility of joint use of certain military training grounds in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The three ministers met later in the day with Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall.

Fur Gives Assurances on CSFR Border

*LD0603190692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko
Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Excerpts] The defense ministers of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland held talks in Budapest today about topical questions of security policy in central and eastern Europe. Our correspondent Tomas Borec reports more in detail:

[Borec] [passage omitted] Bilateral talks have also taken place at the Budapest meeting today. During talks with his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur, Minister Lubos Dobrovsky also touched on Fur's speech in Miskolc, the interpretation of which in the press caused certain alarm in Czechoslovakia. Minister Dobrovsky told me in this context:

[Begin Dobrovsky recording in Czech] Minister Fur assured me that in no way did he mean any actions which would be aimed at military protection of the rights of national minorities. He expressed his regret that such a distortion of his Miskolc speech took place. He said that this was obviously something that a reasonable person could never think about. He also said that nobody—least of all himself—in Hungary would doubt the permanence and validity of the borders between Hungary and other states, least of all between Hungary and CSFR. I was very pleased by this statement and I think that we can consider the entire affair to be closed. [end recording]

During his talks with Polish Minister Jan Parys, Lubos Dobrovsky discussed the possibilities for mutual use of military training facilities in Poland and Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Antall Meets Ministers

*LD0603185592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] The presence of U.S. troops in Europe and the strengthening of the European wing of NATO are in the common interest of the east central European region. This was agreed by the Polish, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian defense ministers during their consultation in Budapest. The politicians held an exchange of views, for the second time, about the security policy of our region. Peter Gyuricza reports:

[Gyuricza] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received in his office this afternoon Lubos Dobrovsky, Jan Parys, and Lajos Fur, defense ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republic, the Polish Republic, and the Hungarian Republic. Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told the press that at the talks, the prime minister attributed great significance to the military cooperation of the two countries—all the more because armed fighting is taking place in two areas of the region.

It is a shared interest that after the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, the parties should cooperate on new bases and for new objectives. Jozsef Antall at the same time commented also on the incredibly small proportion of economic-commercial relations. Lajos Fur said the following about the subjects and results of the Budapest consultation of the defense ministers:

[Begin Fur recording] In effect, we tried to outline certain basic principles and we put down in a joint communique these basic principles about what this military cooperation triangle means, that it is not aimed against anybody, that it is not a military alliance but only a tripartite conversation among the Visegrad Triangle, a military dialogue. Going beyond this, there are, of course, such shared sets of problems, areas, military spheres where we try to cooperate more closely: for example, a potential coordination of the existing military industrial development and maintenance capacities in order that these can be utilized more efficiently. Additionally, the potential future coordination of air navigation, the future coordination of air space control among the three countries was also raised.

It was also discussed that alongside the borders, perhaps open barracks would be constructed based on the open skies model.

Last but not least, we negotiated today about the kind of relationship the three should have with NATO, what kind it should be, how we should build it, what can be expected, what steps can be expected, and in what way this link to NATO should be institutionalized, made closer—in this year or in the future. [end recording]

The ministers agreed that it was hopeless to become NATO members today. NATO's attention now is focussed on the transformation and disintegration of the successor states to the Soviet Union and control over the nuclear arsenal. For the Visegrad Triangle, it is EC associate membership which may represent a basis for cooperation.

Antall Addresses Ministers

*LD0603212792 Budapest MTI in English
1823 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Hungary attaches great significance to military cooperation between the countries of the Visegrad Triangle. Such relations between Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia are particularly important in the light of armed fighting in the Soviet Union's successor states and the southern Slav countries, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall told the three countries' defence ministers in Budapest on Friday.

The meeting, which lasted for almost an hour, was attended by Defence Ministers Lajos Fur of Hungary, Jan Parys of Poland and Lubos Dobrovsky of Czechoslovakia.

After the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty, the three countries have a common interest in continuing cooperation on a new basis, for new goals, Antall said. Beside security policy, Hungary presses for closer economic co-operation. Since Comecon's collapse and the introduction of dollar accounting, Hungary's trade with Czechoslovakia and Poland has nosedived to an unprecedentedly low level. At present, both countries share less than 2 per cent in Hungary's foreign trade. This situation is untenable in the long term, Antall said.

In the prime minister's view, none of the three countries have a chance to join NATO in the near future. At the same time, the North Atlantic Alliance may provide certain guarantees for east central European region. The association agreements the three states signed with the European Community recently are a kind of cohesive force between them, lifting these countries out of the one-time east bloc, Antall said.

Concerning the Yugoslavian situation, Antall said the UN peacekeeping force would likely be stationed there for a long period of time. The Visegrad Triangle countries are expected to discuss the Yugoslavian situation in the future. For instance, they have to adopt a common position on the future of the Hexagonale and the status of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Antall's view, the three states should take a stand for the unity and independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As far as the three countries' cooperation is concerned, the prime minister said that no disputes, neither ethnic ones nor the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project, should hinder the development of promising relations.

Defence Minister Dobrovsky said the Czech and Slovak delegation welcomed the Hungarian Government's tolerant approach to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The Czech and Slovak side wholly understands the Hungarian worries, he added. Dobrovsky greatly appreciated the fact that Hungary's political forces had adopted a European-style approach to the nationality issue. Hungary can serve as a model for enforcing civil rights and freedoms, he said.

Polish Defence Minister Parys said the meeting reflected the favourable changes taking place in the region, and proved that there are no tensions between the three countries.

The region is threatened by both military and economic instability. Economic chaos could become the major factor of instability, Parys said.

Polish Defense Minister 'Satisfied'

*LD0603213392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] A meeting of the defense ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary has ended in Budapest. Tadeusz Olszanski reports from Budapest:

[Olszanski] Our Defense Minister Jan Parys expressed satisfaction with the course of the talks. He emphasized that the military cooperation between the Visegrad Triangle states does not have an aggressive nature and is subject to similar international conditions. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary subscribe to the same values which integrate us with Europe. This also concerns issues related to security and for this reason our countries are interested in military cooperation with NATO. He stressed that Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary do not constitute a closed bloc of any kind.

A communique, which was unanimously adopted after the conclusion of the talks, will be published tomorrow.

Communique Highlighted

*LD0703131492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 92*

[Text] Military cooperation among the Visegrad Triangle is not directed against any country. This is one of the points included in the joint communique issued after the Budapest summit of the defense ministers of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

The document points out that it is not the aim of the three countries to create a closed group. Rather, their cooperation is necessary only because of their geostrategic position. The communique emphasizes that the members of the Visegrad Triangle consider the treaty on European conventional forces to be binding and they expect newly formed countries to take the same position.

More on Communiqué

*LD0703191492 Budapest MTI in English
1647 GMT 7 Mar 92*

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—The cooperation of the Visegrad trio of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia is not directed against any third countries. The trio have no intention of setting up a closed grouping, but seek to place dialogue and consultation on a regular footing, reads the joint communiqué issued on the March 6 Budapest conference of the three countries' defence ministers.

They stressed the importance for the new states emerging through the assertion of self-determination as a result of the historic changes in the region to acknowledge the agreement on the European conventional forces as binding to them. They termed the agreement as a crucial means of bolstering stability and security in Central and Eastern Europe.

The three countries are making joint preparations for the forthcoming first defence ministers' meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council.

Polish Official on Talks

*LD0803203792 Warsaw PAP in English
2302 GMT 8 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, 6 March—"Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are stable states and the West has to acknowledge the fact in terms of the European security plans," Polish Deputy Defence Minister Romuald Szeremietiew told newsmen at the airport Friday upon arrival from the "Triangle" meeting in Budapest.

"Poland's geopolitical position is of key importance, while the three countries guarantee central European stability," Szeremietiew said.

Polish delegation led by Defence Minister Jan Parys discussed the principles of cooperation of the "Triangle" states and working military contacts with NATO.

"We are not going to apply for the NATO membership now, but we intend to focus on the working military cooperation to make it possible in the future," Jan Parys said.

Polish Minister Comments on Baltic Conference

*LD0603220492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] The two-day session of the Council of Baltic Sea States—a new international institution created during the

conference of the foreign ministers of ten countries from this area, came to an end this afternoon in Copenhagen.

[Unidentified correspondent] The council is made up of Poland, Germany, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. The Council of the Baltic Sea States, on the basis of a signed political declaration, is to initiate and coordinate cooperation in the region. Its terms of reference will include: support of new democratic institutions, economic and technological cooperation, joint actions in the field of environmental protection, health, and energy. Cooperation will also include the development of transportation and communications.

During the debates Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev proposed setting up an office of commissioner for ethnic minorities at the Council of the Baltic Sea States. This initiative will be examined at the next meeting in Helsinki by a committee of the Council's high-ranking officials.

Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who is representing the Polish side, pointed out the danger of the growth of nationalistic tendencies in the region. This caused a debate among the representatives of the states which arose after the break-up of the Soviet Union. For the Lithuanian side, Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas brought up the subject of the withdrawal of the former Soviet Army troops from Lithuania. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stated that this matter will be seriously debated although it does not constitute a part of the subject matter to which the immediate work of the Council was devoted. In his opinion it is essential to set up separate institutions which would finance—in his words—the construction of houses and the development of an infrastructure for the returning soldiers.

The matter of nuclear safety in the region was also discussed. Funds for the work of the Council of the Baltic Sea States are to come from individual countries which make up the Council—in proportion to their capabilities. Efforts are also to be made to draw the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development into the Council's work. The EC, a representative of which was present at the Council's session, is to set aside during the next five years 15 billion ECU's [European Currency Units] for the program of environmental protection of the Baltic region.

The next meeting of the Council of the Baltic Sea States is to take place in a year's time in Helsinki.

Dimitrov 'Happy' With Attitude Shown in U.S.

AU0803192892 Sofia BTA in English
1804 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, who is in the seventh day of his visit to the United States, is happy about the attitude to Bulgaria expressed at his numerous meetings with U.S. statesmen, politicians and businessmen. There is a growing awareness of Bulgaria in the United States, more and more people are now talking about it which means that the chances of showing serious interest in Bulgaria have increased, Mr. Dimitrov said in a statement for Radio Sofia this morning.

He underlined the importance of U.S. political and economic support in the case of Bulgaria's inclusion in the Western aid deliveries for the former Soviet Republics, the country's foreign debt problems and other problems it may have with the international institutions.

The peaceful transition to democracy is of paramount importance for Bulgaria's credit rating. Mr. Filip Dimitrov said that in the United States Bulgaria is pointed out as a model of transition from communism to a reasonable statehood based on a market economy and democratic institutions.

Today the Bulgarian prime minister is to visit Chicago.

In the last two days Mr. Dimitrov visited Los Angeles, where he met Mr. Ronald Reagan, and San Francisco, where he had talks with the director of the Hoover Institution. They discussed the possibilities for cooperation between the Bulgarian Government and the Hoover Institution and the development and financing of programs for periodical consultations.

Zhelev, SDS Members Compromise on Oversight

AU0603211692 Sofia BTA in English
1930 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Report by BTA's Evgeniya Drumeva]

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—About a week after the open conflict between President Zhelyu Zhelev and the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) the two sides managed to reach a compromise.

President Zhelev, National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov and members of the National Coordinating Council and the parliamentary group of the SDS held talks for more than three hours today. Mr. Stoyan Ganev, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, took part in the talks as member of the government.

There are no political differences in principle between the president and the SDS, presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov told journalists after the meeting, adding that the recent differences between the separate centres of power were ironed out today.

At the end of last week the SDS demanded that the National Intelligence Service be subordinated to the government instead of to the president. This demand was prompted by a scandal over allegedly discrediting documents concerning Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). Allegedly, the special services had given the president a list of Bulgarian diplomats working for the secret services. According to this version, the foreign minister had handed this list over to Mr. Dogan and he, in his turn, had presented them to the Turkish Embassy. After representatives of the SDS acquainted themselves with the "documents," the SDS declared that this was a plot and demanded that the National Intelligence Service be subordinated to the government so that it could be controlled by parliament too. The president responded with a stern declaration.

A special commission with the Ministry of the Interior is conducting an investigation to find out the source of the "documents," but has not come out with a conclusion yet.

At today's meeting President Zhelev and the SDS agreed on the drafting of a special bill on the special services providing for efficient parliamentary control over their activities. According to a participant in the meeting, this bill will probably also provide for the merging of the secret services with the Ministry of the Interior and with the president. The parliamentary Committees on National Security and Foreign Policy will have access to the information collected by these services and will control them. An agreement was also reached today to hold regular meetings between President Zhelev and representatives of the SDS at least once a month.

After the meeting President Zhelev talked in private with Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev for more than an hour. According to a well-informed source, this was the first meeting after the scandal over the "discrediting documents" broke out. Several days ago, in a statement for BTA the leader of the DPS suggested that the purpose of the "discrediting documents" scandal may have been to compromise the foreign minister so as to make it possible for the president to perform not only representative but also independent foreign political functions.

Yordanov: Meeting 'Went Well'

AU0603150792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] A short while ago Aleksandur Yordanov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) Parliamentary Group, broke off his meeting with the president because, as he explained, he had to leave for Shumen, according to his words, to explain to the people there what is going on in Sofia. Our correspondent Nadya Kirkova asked him what exactly was going on in Sofia.

According to Mr. Yordanov, the meeting went well. He said that they shared fond memories of the beginnings of

the SDS and discussed how during the next three years everything possible would be done to change the system.

As for the differences with the president on the issue of the National Intelligence Service, which were necessarily given attention at the meeting, Mr. Yordanov reached the following conclusion, and I quote: As we both knew very well, these differences exist only in the newspapers, and not between us. I personally came away with the impression that the president and I reached agreement on this matter.

Socialists Return To Debate Land Act Amendments

AU0603153692 Sofia BTA in English 1503 GMT
6 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—Parliament is passing on second reading amendments to the Land Act (passed in February 1991) amid stormy debates.

The Socialist-led parliamentary group protested against the creation of a real land market and against the restitution of the land in its real limits. After an exchange of insults with the majority, the Socialist-led faction yesterday walked out of the chamber only to return this morning. "Should the correlation of forces change, we will amend the legislation passed by this parliament," an MP [member of parliament] of the Socialist Party said today.

Under an article passed today owners whose land was included in cooperative farms and was later on built upon will be compensated with land of the same grade under another act of parliament. Still another act will make provisions for owners of nationalized land which cannot be returned in the same size, owners who were either not compensated or got too small a compensation.

During the Agrarian Reform of 1946 landless farmers were granted land. Those affected by the reform will be compensated under two different acts. Provisions concerning them will probably be included in the Privatization Act which will be debated as of next week.

Bulgarians whose lands were used in paying off this country's debt under the Bulgarian-Greek agreement in 1964 will be compensated under a different act, as well as those whose high-grade land in southern Dobrudzha was confiscated against a negligible compensation in 1951. Under the 1940 Craiova Agreement Romania returned southern Dobrudzha to Bulgaria. Those whose land remained in Romania will also be compensated.

So far the amendments to the Land Act have been voted through by MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces and

the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms. The amendments to the Land Act are expected to pass finally early next week.

Socialists Protest 'Decommunization' Restriction

AU0403190592 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT
4 Mar 92

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—A text on decommunization was included in an act of parliament for the first time in Bulgaria.

The text included in the Banking and Crediting Act today bans former high-ranking communists and State Security officials and informants from top positions in banks for a five-year period. MP's [member of parliament] of the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party protested strongly. The text passed by a vote of 111 to 90, one abstained.

Officials and informants of the former State Security, people who worked in the central, regional and district leaderships of the Communist Party and its satellite organizations in the last 15 years are ineligible for members of bank managements and general meetings of shareholders for a five-year period, the paragraph of the supplementary provisions says.

During the debates MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) described the restriction as "small decommunization." MP's of the SDS have introduced two decommunization bills in parliament. The more radical bill is similar to the Decommunization Act which passed in Czechoslovakia in December 1991.

MP's of the Socialist Party protested against the "small decommunization" charging that it is an "obstacle to Bulgaria's civilized development," "a repressive clause," "a restriction on human rights." SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov argued that no one is standing in the way of the ordinary former communists.

The general meeting of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences recommended to its leadership and scientific teams to debar from top administrative positions for a five-year period people who implemented the policy and methods of the Bulgarian Communist Party in science.

Podkrepa Miners Group Appeals Against Strike

AU0603201692 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Our trade union correspondent Petur Donchev reports that at its meeting today the Central Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Miners Trade Unions Federation decided to call upon the trade union organizations not to strike, since representatives of the federation are scheduled to start negotiations on 10 March with the Council of Ministers.

Havel Discusses Arms Trade, Federation

LD0803181792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Czech 1400 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Live worldwide phone-in with President Vaclav Havel, in conjunction with BBC World Service Radio; moderated by unidentified moderator speaking in English with superimposed Czech translation; questions from outside the country in English with superimposed Czech translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Moderator] The next question concerns Czechoslovakia's future—the question comes to us from Mr. Svoboda in Brno, Czechoslovakia. Your question, please.

[Svoboda] Mr. President, for two years you have made efforts to preserve a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks, which was worthy and statesmanlike. At present you should take into consideration that a great number of the Slovaks dream about their independent state and strive to achieve it. Why should they be prevented from this? You yourself supported efforts by Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Slovenia, and Croatia to liberate themselves and become independent states.

[Havel] My view is that nobody is preventing the Slovak nation from achieving independence, from founding its own state. On the contrary, it was I who more than a year ago proposed the introduction of a referendum on the Constitution as I think this represents the only legitimate method to discover the nation's real will. If the majority of a nation—in the given case of the Slovak nation—wishes to live in an independent state and expresses this through a referendum then that is its totally inalienable right.

Unfortunately, a referendum has not been carried out so far and specifically those political forces that dream about Slovakia becoming independent are the forces that prevent a referendum from taking place. Perhaps they fight against it a bit because they fear that the majority of the Slovak citizens would vote in favor of a common state. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Now, we are indeed going over to Japan, that is if Mr. Paul Robinson is there.

[Paul Robinson] Hello, Mr. Havel. I would like to ask if the Czechoslovak Government is still exporting arms to the non-democratic countries of the world, such as for example Burma. Could you answer this, please?

[Havel] As far as Burma is concerned, I can answer in one sentence: We dare not export any arms to Burma. But otherwise, arms exports are quite a big problem. We have a huge arms industry that was built up during communism but had its own tradition in our country even before that time. Under communism, we used to export heavy military technology to various, suspect countries and regimes. After the big changes in our country, we made a fundamental political decision not to export heavy military technology to contentious countries, and to embark on a generous, far-reaching conversion of the arms industry. However, the conversion of the arms industry is a process that cannot take

place overnight and requires time. At the moment we cannot avoid exporting some arms, although we do not want to export them to countries that are considered terrorist or regions where there is tension, and indeed we do not do so.

We recently made our last delivery to a country that is a bit debatable, and I firmly believe it was the last of its kind. We are now creating legislative and other kinds of prerequisites for the government to control completely all exports and prevent newly emerging private firms any possible arms export to places where it is not in our political interest to do so.

[Moderator] Thank you very much. And now Mr. Chmela—your question, Mr. Chmela:

[Chmela] What is your view of the fact that by implementing a federal [spolkovy] set-up two years ago it was possible to prevent the present constitutional crisis. Are you still convinced that the Moravians and Silesians are not mature enough yet for their independence—meaning: to form the third entity of the federation?

[Havel] [passage omitted] I think that this is the matter of a certain development. It is clear that sooner or later Moravia should have its own status, it should have some sort of self-administration. This corresponds to historical traditions of many years. Nevertheless, I think that it is impossible to do this in one go, from above through some kind of a quick decision which could soon turn out to be very mistaken.

I have a strong feeling that first it is necessary to find a just relationship between our two nations—the Czechs and Slovaks—a just set-up of our common state. And only then is it possible in the second phase to consider possible regions or federal lands. Simply, I think that this is the matter of a certain development and that it should not be the matter of demagogic propaganda. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] The next question is from Baltimore in North America—from Charles Johnson.

[Johnson] Given the uncertain status of nuclear weapons in the Commonwealth of Independent States, would you be in favor of creating a nuclear-free zone in Europe which at first would not include France, Britain, and Russia? Would you be in favor of Czechoslovakia being included in a nuclear-free zone?

[Havel] First of all it is necessary to say that Czechoslovakia is in fact a nuclear-free zone without declaring it as there are no nuclear weapons on our territory. Generally, I would like to say that I think that the best thing would be if the whole world becomes a nuclear-free zone. Of course, it is not possible to achieve this quickly—because of many and various reasons. That is why I welcome all the ideas about various regional nuclear-free zones. Czechoslovakia does not want nuclear weapons, does not need them, and it supports a reduction of nuclear weapons. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] The next one is a question from Rose [surname indistinct] from London about something we

have already mentioned. In this program you said that Czechoslovakia did not export arms to those countries which are involved with terrorist activities. What is your view regarding the export of tanks to Syria? Could you comment on this?

[Havel] In my answer I mentioned one supply of 250 tanks which I consider to be the last one—I would welcome if it is the last one. The supply in question concerns those tanks to Syria. Perhaps it is necessary to point out that this contract was concluded—as far as I know—during the time when Syria participated as a member of the international community in the war for Kuwait's liberation and against Iraq. If I am not mistaken the contract was concluded at that time and the supply of 250 tanks to Syria is now being gradually dealt with. I am not particularly pleased by this supply—I perceive it as a fact—and I firmly believe this is the last supply of its kind.

According to all the information available to me, no supplies of heavy military equipment are being sent to other countries with authoritarian regimes. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister on German Ratification of Treaty

LD0603214192 Prague CSTK in English
1644 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 6 (CSTK)—Dates for the ratification of the Czechoslovak-German Friendship Treaty signed February 27 have not yet been set but Germany has promised to ratify it before the June 5-6 general election in Czechoslovakia, Jiri Dienstbier told journalists today.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister said that no resolutions interpreting the treaty, which might be adopted by the German or Czechoslovak parliament, could change anything about the treaty itself.

Dienstbier said that from the political point of view, it would not be good to adopt any resolutions introducing new interpretations of certain terms used in the treaty.

Assembly Wants Commission With Hungary on Dam

LD0803212692 Prague CSTK in English
1749 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 6 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today called on the Czechoslovak Government immediately to begin talks with Hungary on establishing a joint commission of experts which would examine scenarios for the completion of the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric project.

In a resolution, parliament said the commission should include experts on the environment from both Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as from other countries.

Deputies rejected an amendment to the resolution calling for the suspension of work on the "temporary solution", which envisages that the project be put into use only on Czechoslovak territory.

Parliament supported the position taken by deputies to the parliament's own committee on the environment, that the current agreement on the project allows for changes, which could be proposed by the joint commission of experts.

In meetings held here last month between the environment committees of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian parliaments, Hungarian deputies insisted a new agreement be concluded between the two countries on the future of the project.

The original plan for the Danube River hydroelectric project, outlined in a 1977 agreement between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, called for a dam to be built at Gabčíkovo in Czechoslovakia, just across the border from Hungary. Another dam was to be built at Nagymaros, in Hungary. In 1989 Hungary stopped work on the dam at Nagymaros, citing environmental concerns, but Czechoslovakia has continued work on its part of the project at Gabčíkovo.

Assembly Ratifies Treaty of Friendship With Poland

LD0603232492 Warsaw PAP in English
2159 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Prague, March 5—Czechoslovak Federal Assembly ratified on Thursday a treaty on good neighbourly relations, solidarity and friendly cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Federal Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier who addressed the parliament said that the treaty is of key importance to both states and reflects their close 1000-year old relations.

Slovak Industry Minister on Russian Oil Supplies

LD0803200592 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensk Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The stay of Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik in Moscow lasted less than 24 hours. The reason for his visit was the meeting on the occasion of 30th anniversary of the opening of the Druzhba oil pipeline. Even though there are few reasons to celebrate at the moment, it is nevertheless necessary to recall that over three decades, more than 420 million tonnes of oil flowed to our territory from the former Soviet Union. In an interview prepared by reporter Michal Tvarozek, Minister Holcik said:

[Holcik] [passage omitted] We went to Moscow with the aim of reestablishing contacts with the newly formed bodies of the Russian Federative Republic. There were two ministers of the Russian Government present at the meeting, as well as the trade minister of the Komi Republic, and the whole entourage of the oil industry.

More than a month ago, we signed a contract for the so-called governmental oil, 7.5 million tonnes of it. Naturally, we were interested to see how this worked. I can say with satisfaction that these things are even ahead

of schedule by a certain amount. I think that the talks have convinced us that it is possible to receive further supplies of oil, which we need so much.

[Tvarozek] Would this partly start paying off the debt of the former Soviet Union to our country, which stands at almost \$6 billion?

[Holcik] No, that is a different story altogether. Oil is a totally different category, which has to be paid, and not only in the case of Czechoslovakia, in hard currency and in cash.

During our last trip with Premier Calfa, we suggested this to Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federative Republic Burbulis. Also during the meeting with President Yeltsin, it was our proposal to partly capitalize our debt, to convert it into debentures, which could become a starting capital of a Russian-Czechoslovak enterprise dealing, for example, with oil extraction. [passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] Are you developing these ideas, at least in their first stages?

[Holcik] I am shaping them into background reports, which will be part of the package of President Havel's delegation when he is to go to Moscow during the last week of March. [passage omitted]

KDH Council Issues Statement on Split

LD0703195692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Excerpt] The twice-postponed press conference hinted that today's session of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Council, which was supposed to decide the fate of this political entity, was not at all simple. Nevertheless, the planned press conference ended a short while ago. Michal Tvarozek reports.

[Tvarozek] This initial information will be really very brief. About 45 minutes ago, KDH Executive Deputy Chairman Jan Petrik and Slovak National Council Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac spoke to the press. After having waited nearly 10 hours, we were given the first comprehensive and official information. It began with a reading of the statement adopted by the council members:

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] First, the KDH Council took into account the existence of two political conceptions which have existed in the movement for quite a long time now and stated that the differences between them have deepened in the recent period.

Second, the KDH Council states that the existence of two political conceptions does not permit the adoption of an election program that would simultaneously meet the requirements of both conceptions.

Third, the KDH Council does not agree with the division of the movement.

Fourth, the KDH Council takes account of the separation of the political platform headed by Mr. Jan Klepac which will go into the elections as a new political movement with its own program and its own candidates.

Fifth, the KDH Council agrees with the following arrangement of relations between the KDH and the newly formed movement: a. the maintenance of the stability of the Slovak National Council Presidium, the government of the Slovak Republic, and the government of the CSFR until the end of this term of office; b. the mutually correct management of the election campaign; c. regular consultations with the aim of coordinating the promotion of KDH policy.

Sixth, the KDH Council assigns to the district coordination centers the task of convening within the coming two weeks of the district councils, in which members of the KDH Presidium, Council, and deputies of legislative bodies will participate, to complete the solution of the situation that has arisen at the district level. [end recording]

[Tvarozek] I will just add that 94 members of the Council voted against the split, 10 voted for, and nine abstained from voting. This situation will have to be solved by the KDH congress, which should meet sometime in the next few weeks. [passage omitted]

Czech Council Elections Set for 5-6 June

LD0803085792 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio
Network in Czech 1700 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Excerpts] The Presidium of the Czech National Council [CNC] held a session in Prague today. Alena Millerova reports about its deliberations:

[Millerova] It took over two hours for the Presidium of the Czech Parliament to reach a consensus about the majority view on the future and course of further talks on the principles of Czechoslovakia's constitutional setup. A resolution which was at the end adopted is based on the stance of the conservative bloc put forward to the political board yesterday. [passage omitted]

The key point of the adopted resolution goes as follows—I quote: The Presidium of the Czech National Council repeats that it is prepared to hold talks with the Presidium of the Slovak National Council [SNC], provided the SNC Presidium conveys its intention regarding the subject of further talks. If this is not the case the CNC Presidium's view is that there would be no point in holding these talks—end of quotation.

This naturally represents a condition for a meeting of the two presidia planned for 11 March to take place. [passage omitted]

Today the Presidium officially announced the election to the Czech National Council to be held on 5 and 6 June this year.

Bush Letter, Offer of Economic Help Cited*LD0603223592 Warsaw PAP in English
2110 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—U.S. President George Bush has written a letter to President Lech Walesa in which he refers to the latter's opinions voiced at a recent meeting of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and asks what is it that the United States could do for Poland. Bush writes that the United States wants to do all it can for Poland, for example, send a group of business experts who would work with Polish administration staff on starting a possibly large number of investment projects because the most important thing is that Poland finds her way back to an economic programme supported by the International Monetary Fund. George Bush stresses that U.S. interest in Polish success is greatest because Poland is the country which started the revolution now going on two continents and a country which is a pattern to follow by others. He adds that he also wrote to "G-7" leader Helmut Kohl asking for a discussion of the Polish problems by these countries. Bush stresses he knows what sort of difficulties Lech Walesa is facing but he believes he knows what to do, especially that a lot must be done by Poland herself. "Believe me, we are with you," writes George Bush in conclusion of his letter. (Compiled from a Polish translation of the letter because the presidential press office refused to make the original text available to PAP English service).

Walesa Voices 'Satisfaction' With IMF Support*LD0903150692 Warsaw PAP in English
2118 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—Under-Secretary of State at the President's Chancellery and President's Secretary for Economic issues Andrzej Kozakiewicz conveyed a letter from President Lech Walesa to IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus through IMF representative in Poland Rolando J. Ossowski, the presidential press office said.

In his letter, President Lech Walesa voiced satisfaction with a declaration of support by the IMF. Harmonious cooperation with this institution lies in the vital interests of the Polish economy. The president is also convinced about the correctness of the government decision to limit the 1992 budget deficit to 65 trillion zlotys (about 5 billion dollars), that is, to the level whose exceeding would cause the rise in inflation with all dramatic consequences.

Trade Agreement Signed With Belarus*LD0903144392 Warsaw PAP in English
2148 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—Poland and Belarus resolved to set up new cooperation ties according to a trade agreement signed after three-day talks by the Belarussian business delegation and the Polish Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation in Warsaw on Friday.

The document calls for increasing traffic capacity at the borders and cooperation between banks. Both sides are to examine the opportunities of creating duty-free zones and begin preparations to establish joint business market-minded colleges.

Poland recorded a 70 percent drop in trading with the republics of the former Soviet Union but a 20 percent increase with Belarus in 1991 valued at 150 million U.S. dollars. Poland is the largest, in terms of volume, exporter and second largest importer of goods from that republic.

Olszewski: No Alternative to Economic Program*LD0803221592 Warsaw PAP in English
2129 GMT 8 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski said in a televised interview on Sunday evening that there is no alternative for the government-proposed economic programme, recently rejected by the lower house.

Olszewski admitted that Poland had failed to keep the World Bank-recommended economic indices provided for in the 1991 letter of intent but said the main task now is to bring more discipline in the economy and restore its ability to develop.

The prime minister played down the rejection of his economic plan calling it a mistake of an inexperienced parliament. He stressed the necessity to expand the government coalition and said he still has hope.

Spokesman: Cabinet Resignation Unlikely*LD0603155592 Warsaw PAP in English 1453 GMT
6 Mar 92*

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—The presidential press spokesman, Andrzej Drzycimski, asked on Friday [6 March] if the president was ready for a possible resignation by the Cabinet, said "a responsible politician must foresee every possibility." He added that "the president is not assuming that that possibility will occur for the moment."

"The president has publicly declared his support for Jan Olszewski as prime minister many times, but he warned him against adopting tactics based on individuals", said Drzycimski adding that this had led to the rejection by the Sejm (lower house) of the government's proposed socioeconomic programme.

According to Drzycimski the vote by itself did not signify a vote of no confidence in the government. "It is a rejection of the proposed socioeconomic policy but not the budget which, after the relevant amendments, might be accepted. The government has a free hand here", he added.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 2247 GMT on 6 March carries a corrected version of the above item which reads as follows:

["Warsaw, March 6—Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski, asked Friday if the president was ready for a possible resignation by the Cabinet, said: 'A responsible politician must foresee every possibility'. He added that 'the president is not assuming that such a possibility will occur for the moment'.

["The president has publicly declared his support for Jan Olszewski as prime minister many times. He drew people's attention, however, to the style of practicing politics by the elites when personal conflicts and tactics begin to prevail over the interests of the country and the creation of the common programme for the future. Democracy has its rights: It is young and we are paying for that", said Drzycimski.

["Commenting upon the Thursday vote in the Sejm on the Government's socio-economic programme, the presidential spokesman said that conclusions had to be drawn from that, considered without haste and afterwards common actions could be undertaken. 'This is a warning to the Government and—even to a greater extent—to the Sejm. It can also be described as a warning to partitioned elites who do not solve problems that the society expects them to solve', added Drzycimski.

["According to the presidential spokesman the vote by itself did not signify a vote of no confidence for the Government. 'It is a rejection of the proposed socio-economic policy but not the budget which, after relevant amendments, might be accepted. The Government has a free hand here', Andrzej Drzycimski concluded."]

Spokesman on 'Need to Sober Up'

*LD0703092492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Interview with presidential press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski by Andrzej Jelenski on 6 March in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] Andrzej Drzycimski, the president's press spokesman, and reporter Andrzej Jelenski go back to yesterday's Sejm decision.

[Jelenski] Minister, the Sejm has rejected the government's program. What is the president's opinion on this matter?

[Drzycimski] It has not rejected the program but the draft guidelines. The government can submit a draft budget to the Sejm and this draft may be accepted, so it is not yet at the stage we are already talking about.

[Jelenski] That this is a vote of no confidence in the government?

[Drzycimski] It seems to me that this is a very significant matter. The two votes yesterday point to two specific

issues. The first issue is the style of political activity which has led to such a situation. On the one hand, we had a blockade of the posts of the Bank [National Bank of Poland] and the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] chairmen. One could clearly see that personnel and tactical issues took precedence over programmatic issues. On the other hand, the young democracy we have here is encountering certain obstacles in its path. This is inevitable. We cannot avoid these type of problems. We have to take them into account with regard to the process which is taking place.

One has to distance oneself from what is happening and not to create certain tensions and emotions. Here, emotions won over reality. These were draft guidelines. Certain matters can be altered, improved, and supplemented, and this does not mean that the draft must be rejected. This is also a warning to political elites. Political elites are often described by the president as elites which keep moving within one another but remain in the same setup. One requires that they come down to the level of society and explain to society what this is all about. For soon all these reshuffles occurring at the highest political levels will be obscure to society and society will say: We are not interested in it and will move away and reject this. It would be dangerous signal which could lead to social tensions. Nobody knows what the outcome may be. The worst outcome would be if these social tensions found expression in the streets. This is a warning to both the government and, not to a lesser extent, to parliament.

[Jelenski] And to the president?

[Drzycimski] To the president it simply means taking into account the reality we live with. He talks about this at all his public meetings. It is one of his constant motifs: the need to sober up and step back from personalities, which has taken place in the form of the current tactics, for the benefit of a program, a program positive to society. We may find ourselves in a situation whereby society will simply turn its back on what we are doing.

This is the warning: This style of conducting politics is a style which has fewer and fewer followers.

Council of Ministers Seeks Special Powers

*LD0603183192 Warsaw TVP Television Network
in Polish 1615 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] The Council of Ministers has evaluated the results of the Sejm's work on the guidelines of the socio-economic policy for 1992. The government will ask for special powers in order to secure successful implementation of the program. The government press office informs that this is how the government understands the mandate it was granted at the time of appointment by the Sejm in December last year.

Cabinet Says Efficiency Key to Balancing Budget

LD0803192692 Warsaw PAP in English
2329 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 6 (PAP)—The government's tactic is to choose solutions linking all the indispensable budgetary cuts with improvements of the organization and efficiency, says a communique from a closed meeting of the Council of Ministers on Friday evening.

The government is so serious about utilizing the potential reserves of higher efficiency and productivity because so far its draft balancing of budgetary revenues against expenditures, which include growing social policy and debt servicing costs, has been resulting in a deficit much higher than the acceptable 5 percent, the communique says. The discussion on the budget is to continue next week.

KPN Leader Says Finance Minister Must Resign

LD0903170992 Warsaw PAP in English
2146 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—"The finance minister has to resign to make the government credible," leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski said Friday during a press conference at the Sejm.

The KPN does not have a candidate for the post yet, added Moczulski.

Commenting upon Minister of Finance Andrzej Olechowski's speech delivered at the Sejm Thursday, the KPN leader stated that he understood from the speech that "the monetary policy of the former governments would be continued".

The way out of the present situation—according to Moczulski—would be the creation of a "strong majority in the Sejm which would work out a programme first and then the government reshuffle or its change would take

place". Otherwise, there will be no permanent governments and it will be necessary to hold early elections still this year, added the KPN leader.

In Leszek Moczulski's opinion, the government—when forming a coalition—may refer either to genuine centre parties and create the government together with the KPN or to reach left and form a coalition with the Democratic Union.

The KPN leader informed the journalists that he had talked Friday to Jan Olszewski's adviser and to the secretary of state at the Council of Ministers about a potential reshuffle of the government.

Leszek Moczulski highly esteemed Premier Jan Olszewski's statement that the government would not resign.

Balcerowicz, Others Implicated in Alcohol 'Fraud'

LD0603131892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1300 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] The Constitutional Responsibility Commission, which has been examining a preliminary motion on bringing Leszek Balcerowicz, Jerzy Cwiek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Krzysztof Kozlowski to constitutional responsibility in the so-called alcohol fraud, has ended the first part of its sitting. Adam Lukomski, deputy chairman of the commission, stated that state treasury losses as a result of the import of alcohol amount to between 170 billion and 1.7 trillion zlotys. The calculations do not include the so-called street trade in alcohol. Moreover, Lukomski suggested that the list of people implicated in the fraud should be extended. It concerns, among others, former Deputy Prime Minister Ireneusz Sekula, former Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski, former Health Minister Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz, and former Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Marcin Swiecicki, who should be charged with violating the law of 1982 on sobriety and counteracting alcoholism. On the other hand, Deputy Marcin Zenkiewicz put forward a motion excluding Leszek Balcerowicz from the case, arguing that legal loopholes were eliminated during Balcerowicz's term of office.

Nastase Receives New U.S. Ambassador

*AU0603212292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1918 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1992—Friday, March 6, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase received on a presentation call the new ambassador of the U.S. to Bucharest, Mr. John R. Davis Jr. After the interview, the U.S. ambassador stated to the press that his first aim was to improve the ties between the two states. He assessed that the talks with the foreign minister were a good start for his mission in Romania and that he hoped the Romanian-U.S. relations would be warmer and closer when he ended it than they were at present. He said, had he achieved such a goal, he would have fulfilled his mission.

The Romanian foreign minister showed Mr. Davis that presence in Bucharest meant a new stage in bilateral relations. This is a guarantee for a very good communication which should be used to convey telling signals to Washington regarding Romania's geo-strategic importance in eastern Europe.

Involvement in Transdnestr Conflict Denied

*AU0803204292 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 2000 GMT 8 Mar 92*

[Text] In connection with a news item broadcast by the Moscow Television Network according to which 28 coffins were repatriated to Romania in the wake of armed incidents in the Transdnestr—a news item that accredits the idea of our country's involvement in the conflict—the spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is empowered to declare that such claims are devoid of any real basis. The dissemination of such news, including by Moscow Television, is a clear act of disinformation, when everybody knows that the events in the Transdnestr are the result of irresponsible actions by Russian-speaking separatist forces that are supported militarily by Cossacks.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman categorically denies such allegations, which are a gross distortion of reality and a disservice to Romanian-Russian relations. As is well known, Romania has developed and is developing special relations of fraternity with the Republic of Moldova and supports the assertion of its sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, including the actions undertaken by the legal authorities against the separatist forces and for a political and negotiated resolution of the problems in the Transdnestr.

Government, Trade Unions Hold New Talks

*AU0603212492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1909 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1992—A government-trade unions meeting was held on March 6, attended by Miron Biji, special representative of the government in its liaison with the trade unions and the

employers' association, Matei Dan, undersecretary of state, Aurel Vainer, deputy chairman of the Chamber for Trade and Industry, representatives of the Employers' Association, participating to negotiations of the collective labor agreement with the National Trade Union Bloc. Present were counselors and experts of the government and the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection.

Issues were tackled forwarded [as received] by the Executive Bureau of the National Trade Union Bloc, as well as the bargaining programme, in view of the conclusion of the national collective work contract.

It was established that the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection and the Chamber for Commerce and Industry would draw up a note on the recognition and application of collective work contracts at the level of economic agents, to be sent to ministries and departments. Negotiations will be resumed Monday, March 9, as was agreed by the sides.

Democratic Opposition Party Rallies in Bucharest

*AU0703160792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1522 GMT 7 Mar 92*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1992—Under the motto "Justice and Bread" the Democratic Opposition Party organized a rally in the Revolution Square of Bucharest on Saturday, March 7. Dumitru Dinca, leader of this party (founded in January 1992) called on all opposition parties to maintain the unity of the Democratic Convention announcing that his party adhered to the Convention.

Other speakers criticised the bankrupt economic policy of the present government stressing that the economic and social problems were the most stringent for the people.

Party Leaders Comment on Elections

*AU0703191692 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER
in Romanian 28 Feb 92 p 3*

[Report on statements by Ion Manzatu, president of the Republican Party, and Rene Radu Policrat, president of the Liberal Party (National Liberal Party-young wing), on recent local elections by Doina Diaconu: "Party Leaders Comment on Local Elections"]

[Text] Mr. Ion Manzatu, president of the Republican Party: I believe that the first real step toward democracy has been made in Romania. The myth of a unique ruling party, namely the Front, broke up to a great extent as was to be expected after the serious lack of success registered in the field of the national economy and social life. In this respect, I would like to make some brief remarks. It is astonishing that there are still regions that have not understood what happened between 1990 and 1992 in Romania and that the smiles, promises, and mainly the serious disappointments produced by the Front are nothing but what it used to be once, in the period of

communism, a very big drama for the Romanian people. Those who voted for the National Salvation Front (FSN) obviously thought that it was a party that might still cover up errors and abuses or maybe they mistook it for the continuator of the Romanian Communist Party in Romania, the party that brought about the Romanian disaster between 1944 and 1990. [sentence as published] Secondly, I would like to note that the Republican Party finds itself finally among the top 10 parties or political groups in the country. We had a reduced possibility to advance candidates in constituencies. This is the reason why out of about 800 candidates we got over 520 counselors and in a limited number of constituencies in which we registered candidates for the position of mayor, we obtained almost 35 mayors in towns and communes. This is only a first test for us and the hope that we started off on the right foot in 1992 toward general elections. The third point I would like to make is connected with the present. Certainly the Front will break up. The Democratic Convention in turn will not resist because it was built on a structure that is not favored by the Romanian people. I am saying this regardless of how much respect I harbor for the majority of political groups that are included in the Convention, which we urged the electorate and the members of the Republican Party to support during the second poll. The Convention also includes a group that we do not approve of, and this is called the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania. As far as the future is concerned, we believe that Romania's current situation proves that the former democracies are on the right road. Bucharest is in the hands of certain forces of the opposition and since we belong to the opposition we hail all representatives of the opposition who won the local elections both for the position of mayors and that of counselors. We are together with them and we will support them.

Mr. Rene Radu Policrat, president of the Liberal Party (National Liberal Party-Young Wing): I can and should value the local elections from two angles: one from the citizen's point of view and the other from the point of view of the party member. As a citizen I am pleased that a change has taken place. This was something that had to be done in Romania as a political change. The prospects of this change lead to more realistic relations between political forces. This is the reason why I value these elections as a hope and a support found in reality, for an effective democratization of political life. However, I am obliged to emphasize that this is only the beginning of the road. The next elections will prove whether this beginning is the first significant step in the process of harmonization between those in power and the way this was reflected in the electoral process. As a party member, in spite of the concerted disloyal obstacles we faced, I value the results of our party as promising, which proves once again that the new liberalism, characteristic of the end of our century, represented by our party, has its supporters—and quite of few of them—in Romania. In our view, as a task for the future, it is a political requirement that the political struggle should be loyal and correct and the dangerous "Balkan practice", which,

regrettably, is still disturbingly noticeable in the attitude of certain top representatives of our political life, should be eliminated.

New Security Chief Details State Intelligence

AU0903090592 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 5 Mar 92 p 8

[Interview with Romanian Information Service Director Virgil Magureanu by Attila Ara-Kovacs in Bucharest; place not given: "Exclusive Interview With the Head of the Romanian Intelligence Service—We Would Like To Meet the Hungarian Side as Soon as Possible"]

[Text] A new civilian intelligence service has been active in Romania since 26 March 1990. It is a service that is confronted daily with the terrible memory of the Ceausescu regime's Securitate. President Ion Iliescu appointed Virgil Magureanu as the first director of the Romanian Information Service (SRI). Magureanu was born in Transylvania on 19 March 1941. This is Virgil Magureanu's first interview for the Hungarian press, an interview given to our correspondent at the SRI Headquarters in Bucharest.

Some preliminary information: According to one of the protocols of the Provisional National Unity Council, the SRI was first mentioned on 21 March 1990. This date coincides suspiciously with the end of the 90-day period during which the former Securitate officers still received their salaries. At the same time, this directly follows the Temesvar [Timisoara] proclamation of the democratic opposition and the ethnic disturbances in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. Many people think that these disturbances were provoked by these former officers in order to get work and income again....

[Kovacs] Is this true?

[Magureanu] Indeed, there is some connection between the creation of the SRI and some events that were threatening our country's stability at the time. However, I think that your question was slightly biased. We have some information about what really happened in Marosvasarhely in March 1990, and this excludes any provocative action on the part of the Securitate officers. At the same time, one cannot exclude the possibility that some of them acted on their own. In any case, the creation of the SRI is not directly connected with those events. However, I believe that the events in Marosvasarhely would have not occurred if the SRI had already existed on 19 and 20 March. As for the 3-month' severance pay, this could not—and did not—have any connection with the creation of the SRI, because we did not reemploy many former Securitate people.

[Kovacs] The whole apparatus was disbanded in the CSFR, and a 20 percent reduction in personnel took place in Hungary. What is the extent of the change in the Romanian intelligence service personnel?

[Magureanu] As far as we know, all the personnel of the Hungarian intelligence service have been reemployed. Of course, one should not believe those who claim that all the members of a given intelligence service can really be dismissed or replaced, even if this is an intelligence service operating in a totalitarian regime. That is absurd, all the more so because an intelligence service cannot start from scratch: We need professional people. We have cleansed our apparatus thoroughly and we only reemployed 20 percent of the former personnel.

Facing the Past

[Kovacs] The former intelligence service had a dual strategic task: industrial espionage and the struggle against the so-called "Hungarian irredentism." Has your strategy changed today?

[Magureanu] Any intelligence service, whether operating in a totalitarian regime or in democracy, is necessarily also engaged in gathering economic information, and it also has to protect strategically important economic information. In this respect, our goals have remained the same. As for the issue of "irredentism," I must stress that we have both Hungarian and Romanian extremists here, quite a few for that matter. Our goal is to halt any kind of extremism, or at least to reduce its importance, because this is a prerequisite for any kind of democratic stability. It is another matter that we only intervene when extremist manifestations exceed a certain level. At the same time, I would like to point out that all the SRI strategic principles are new, and this also clearly transpires from our draft statute. Neither our goals, nor our tasks can be compared with those of the former Securitate.

[Kovacs] The former intelligence service operating in the Ceausescu era employed a decreasing number of national minorities. I would like to know whether the SRI employs national minority officers and whether there are ethnic Hungarians in responsible positions in the SRI?

[Magureanu] Yes, there are. True, their number is quite small because most of the ethnic minority members of the former Securitate left the service. We have a very important goal to refresh our personnel in this respect too, and we recently turned to the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] to come up with proposals. We need new Hungarian personnel in particular, because this is a condition for having information that reflects reality. At the same time, I will not hide the fact that there were quite a lot of Hungarian cadres in the former Securitate. However, most of these people no longer meet the criteria we set when we created the new apparatus.

[Kovacs] Several leaders of the Hungarian intelligence service firmly claim that there are no Hungarian agents in Romania. To what extent is the SRI interested in Hungary?

[Magureanu] Indeed, I also read [recently resigned minister in charge of intelligence] Mr. Galszecszy's statement

in which he points out that there are no Hungarian agents in Romania. Let us suppose that this is true. As far as we are concerned, we would not have been able to deal with Hungary more "deeply" even if we had wanted to. The SRI is a newly created organization that, for the time being, does not have too much time to set up a more serious network of agents. Besides, I would like to meet with the Hungarian side as soon as possible in order to clarify our common interests in this respect.

[Kovacs] Have you disbanded the old network, have you selected some members, or have you fully reemployed the old network?

[Magureanu] The old network set up by the Ceausescu regime was based on old principles that are no longer suitable for our current goals. There was no way, nor was there any reason, to take over this network, unless to compromise ourselves....

[Kovacs] What about your intelligence contacts with the Western agencies? It transpires from various statements made by Hungarian leaders that they have already succeeded in building excellent contacts with the developed countries....

[Magureanu] Regarding this competition, the Hungarians were in a more advantageous situation in any case. We have not yet been able to establish similar contacts, mostly because the SRI law is still only a bill on the Parliament agenda. When the Parliament finally adopts this law, we will immediately start building such contacts, including the Hungarian side.

[Kovacs] Speaking about the Hungarian connection, rumor has it no meeting whatsoever has taken place between the two agencies so far.

[Magureanu] I would like to repeat: We have an essential interest in meeting with the Hungarian side. We are waiting for the Hungarian side's readiness. It is a fact, however, that we have no contacts at all at the moment. I consider the recent offensive article addressed to Mr. Galszecszy that was published in the EUROPE journal in Bucharest to be very unfortunate. Someone from the RMDSZ also asked how it was possible for such a statement to be published. In my opinion, someone used this publication in order to try to prevent us having bilateral contacts. However, I would be unpleasantly surprised if the Hungarian side believed that we worked so badly, or that we were so stupid politically as to sabotage the creation of contacts that we regard as very advantageous ourselves. Unfortunately, I have no means of influencing the views of the aforementioned journal.

[Kovacs] In the capital of Moldova, Kishinev, I saw clear signs of your participation in setting up civilian services there. When did this cooperation begin, and what other areas does this cooperation cover?

[Magureanu] We held an important meeting with the heads of the intelligence service in Kishinev in the first week of February. Our agreement primarily refers to the joint struggle against terrorism. Prior to this agreement, we had no agreements at all because the intelligence service in Moldova was only set up in the autumn of 1991. We are now considering ways of coordinating our activities.

[Kovacs] I would like to know how you try to face the past. For example, have you contacted General Pacepa, the former head of the Romanian intelligence service, who fled the country in 1978?

[Magureanu] We have not contacted him, and I personally will not initiate such action. However, in practice, his responsibility is quite serious, because Pacepa exposed, or "uncovered" quite a few of our domestic and foreign networks, which were important for our national security and not for the Ceausescu-regime. We regard Pacepa as a person whose activity caused serious damage to Romanian interests. On the other hand, his activity also had positive consequences as regards the revelations about the Ceausescu regime.

[Kovacs] A similar unsolved question of the past is who was really shooting in December 1989, the Securitate or the army? An increasing number of people are now blaming the army for the massacres....

[Magureanu] We cannot blame the entire institution. However, one can say with certainty today that innocent people fell victim to certain mistakes made by the army command. Investigations are still being carried out in this matter. I am convinced that the criminals served in various places, and not in a single institution.

Stasi Documents at the Securitate?

[Kovacs] Halting the smuggling of people, drugs, and arms has an important place in the cooperation between the Visegrad Three [Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia].

However, the smuggling of people is booming in Romania. Are you carrying out preliminary investigations in this matter? If so, what results have you achieved?

[Magureanu] Yes, investigations are being carried out but, for the time being, we do not have a clear picture. We intend to reveal and announce any relevant information, particularly information referring to the Romanian-Hungarian border area.

[Kovacs] There have been accusations lately that the Romanian organs might be interested in such cases of smuggling people. Is the SRI carrying out an investigation or surveillance in this area?

[Magureanu] I do not think that such accusations have any foundation, but we will examine the issue.

[Kovacs] As Erich Mielke and Marcus Wolff, two former Stasi leaders, have confirmed, a large amount of Stasi documents were rushed from East Berlin to Romania in November 1989. Where are these documents now?

[Kovacs] Yes, there was something like this and we know that our German colleagues are investigating the matter. However, it has not yet been clearly proved that such documents were really transported into Romania. We even suspect that the real addressees of this transport are in the former Soviet Union.

[Kovacs] I met a lot of people in Transylvania who are afraid again. They know that their conversations are taped, just as in the past. Do you personally feel any responsibility for this?

[Magureanu] We do not carry out any such investigation, unless someone's activity conspicuously threatens our national security. However, these are isolated cases, and we can hardly alarm the public.

International

Jovic Obtains UN Peace Operation Agreement

LD0803205792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2021 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—Borisav Jovic, Yugoslav Presidency member and president of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, returned to Belgrade from New York on Sunday night with a general agreement on U.N. peace operation in Yugoslavia. As Jovic told newsmen on arrival, the agreement is to be considered by the Yugoslav federal organs prior to definitive signing. Jovic said he discussed with the high U.N. officials the open questions, "so there would be no surprises."

He said the question of composition of the U.N. troops was resolved, because Yugoslavia, consulted about this, agreed with the U.N. proposal. The "U.N. proposal was acceptable to us, because the peace troops were coming from friendly countries," Jovic commented. He pointed out that the question of "influence of any one country on the deployment of national contingents has been removed from the agenda, because this would be within the sole competence of the world organization Secretary General Butrus Ghali."

Jovic set out he did not believe there would a change in the U.N. peace plan over the latest straining of situation in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his view, Yugoslavia's readiness to contribute within the scope of its possibilities to reducing the cost of the peace operation was thought of highly at the U.N. He added that Yugoslavia's financial contribution was "symbolic and minimal" and that it pertained to accommodation and supply of the peace troops.

Jovic confirmed the latest reports that some 600 members of the peace troops were due in Yugoslavia next week, while the full number of 14,000 would be reached by mid-April.

He announced that the State Committee for Cooperation with the U.N. would now switch from its mediation role to joining directly in the activities concerned with defining the exact borders of the zones to be under U.N. protection. Under the U.N. peace plan, the UNPROFOR zones would be in three Serbian regions in the secessionist Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and two smaller regions in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Arrival of UN Peacekeeping Force Commander

LD0603213792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1354 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The commander of the U.N. peace-keeping force in Yugoslavia, Indian Lieutenant General Satish Nambiar, and the head of the UNPROFOR [UN protection force] civil department, Irish diplomat Cedric Thornberry, arrive in Belgrade on Sunday, together with 35 UNPROFOR command staff

senior officers, the staff of the operative headquarters for UNPROFOR told the press today.

Only an initial, three-day-programme of the UNPROFOR command staff's stay in Yugoslavia is known for the moment, it was said in the operative headquarters, recently formed by the Yugoslav State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations. Nambiar and his team are expected to hold official talks on Monday with Yugoslav Presidency member and chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations Borisav Jovic and other members of the State Committee. They will also meet with acting Yugoslav Defence Minister General Blagoje Adzic.

The UNPROFOR commander and his team are scheduled to continue for Zagreb on Tuesday. Late next week they will be in Sarajevo, where the UNPROFOR general headquarters is to be located. Jovic, who took part in final talks in the New York based U.N. headquarters on the deployment of the blue helmets in Yugoslavia, will return to Belgrade on Sunday, together with the UNPROFOR command staff.

Vance, Tudjman Comment on Brussels Talks

LD0603190392 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1746 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Zagreb, March 6 (TANJUG)—The U.N. secretary general's special envoy for Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance, on Friday said he was satisfied that all three leaders of the national parties of Bosnia-Herzegovina have agreed to resume talks on the future organization of the Yugoslav republic.

The talks will be continued in Brussels on Saturday. Vance said in a statement to the press following talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina was somewhat calmer today compared to the previous days.

He added that he had informed Tudjman about the consequence of the arrival of U.N. peace-keeping forces in Yugoslavia, which are to be deployed in their full number of 14,000 troops by April 15.

The U.N. special envoy said incidents in Bosnia-Herzegovina would not influence the deployment of the "blue helmets" in the planned period.

Tudjman said it was very important that the Yugoslav Army completely withdraw from the entire territory of Croatia and irregular groups be disarmed by April 15, when the deployment of the U.N. peace-keeping forces is to be completed.

The U.N. peace plan envisages the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from crisis regions and the disarming of Serbian territorial defence forces. Serbs agreed to the plan, believing that the U.N. peace-keeping forces would protect them from possible aggression by Croatian formations and remain in the region until a political settlement of the crisis is found. The Serbian territorial

defence units armed themselves last year after the pro-secession Croatian authorities formed a nationally pure army and police. Croatia at the time ignored all orders by the Presidency of Yugoslavia for the disbanding of the para-military formations, which resulted in war.

Karadzic Departs for Brussels for Talks

LD0703151292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] A delegation from the Croatian Democratic Union [CDU] of Bosnia-Herzegovina left Sarajevo along with delegations from the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDP] for talks in Brussels concerning the future of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian Republic. This, the fourth round of discussions, is scheduled to begin at 3 P.M. in the Brussels Hilton. Jose Cutilheiro will be representing the European Community and chairing the discussions.

CDU President Mate Boban told reporters upon his departure that an agreement had to be reached, if not in Brussels then some time later in Sarajevo. SDP President Radavan Karadzic said that it was necessary to negotiate since it represented the only way out. Karadzic added that if talks are halted, then the situation would begin governing itself. SDA President Alija Izetbegovic told reporters that they were going to Brussels to hear what the Serbian side had to say. Izetbegovic said he doubted whether any document would result from the talks and cautioned that the division of the Republic was not acceptable to his party.

Comments on Talks

AU0703202392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Snezana Rodic in Brussels on 7 March—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] The starting basis of the Serbian Democratic Party, that is to say, the Serbian national community, is that Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be recognized, that Bosnia-Herzegovina should not be accepted as a unitarian, independent entity until it is transformed according to the wishes and desires of its three constituent nations. This principle and approach suits us perfectly. It is honest because what we demand for ourselves we recognize for others. If we wanted to dominate, then we would not accept this. In other words, those who do not accept this want to dominate others. We are here trying to secure the authority of every nation over themselves and not authority over others.

[Rodic] What is the stand of the host, the EC?

[Karadzic] I can say that we have better experience with this section of the EC than Yugoslavia had. It appears to me that impartiality is much more present here, that they are not offering or imposing any recipes or ready-made solutions, and that they are ready to listen and understand. What is specially important for us is that the phenomenon

of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the phenomenon of Yugoslavia are understood so that they can be worked on.

[Rodic] What about the other two nations of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Karadzic] We only held one plenary session during which all three national delegations stated that they want to continue to work on this problem. Therefore, cooperation has been secured. We are aware that if we do not do the job, if we do not complete things and solve all problems, they will resolve themselves with their own logic. This would be disastrous for all three nations.

[Rodic] President Alija Izetbegovic still insists on independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially after the referendum.

[Karadzic] This was not the topic of our conversation today. We are now simply discussing the rearrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Rodic] According to the principle of cantons?

[Karadzic] According to the principle of three constituent units, which could have more cantons.

Izetbegovic on Talks

AU0703214392 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Brussels on 7 March—recorded]

[Text] I personally think that it is not possible to divide Bosnia, but since the Serbian side, the Serbian Democratic Party, believes in the opposite, let it show how that is possible, how it is possible to do that to the satisfaction of all. I personally think this is not possible.

(?Only) a democratic state with constitutional guarantees and instruments that could ensure the equality of the peoples is the correct solution and not divisions.

HDZ's Boban Comments

AU0703205692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Interview with Mate Boban, vice president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Snezana Rodic in Brussels on 7 March—recorded]

[Text] [Boban] For us it is important that the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina are a sovereign nation in the rudimentary sense and that the Croatian people are a constituent nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These are fundamental things that can be further developed, but the time has been too short to do it.

[Rodic] Do you accept independent Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Boban] We accept Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state in its entirety. This is a country of the Croatian people, above all and everyone, and now of all who live there. [sentence as heard]

Alleged New Role of 'Uncle Sam' Criticized

92BA0592D Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Milan Jajcinovic: "Uncle Sam's New Role"]

[Text] That America (still) does not intend to recognize Croatia is not really such big news. It could have been spotted long ago, although reports that people here wanted to hear have been coming frequently from the United States. Following the visit of Dimitrije Rupel, Slovene foreign minister, who was shown the door of the White House, it became quite clear that American recognition should not be expected soon, as had frequently been suggested. James Baker merely confirmed officially what had already been sufficiently indicated.

In its last statement, made by its secretary of state, America once again showed, overtly and officially, not only that it intends to monitor the situation in Yugoslavia, but actually intends to be the principal political protagonist in it. America undoubtedly knows who is who and who is what on the territory of Tito's former state. It also knows who started the war and why. Incidentally, it was Baker who spoke about this first, when other diplomats in the United Nations kept silent or muttered. But that was the time when Croatia and Slovenia not only had not been recognized, but could not even dream of recognition. At that time, America probably anticipated that it would have control over the entire Balkan political maelstrom, and therefore also over recognition or nonrecognition of the republics that desired it. But political events and the diplomacy of a number of states were quicker than American diplomacy. America lost the primacy of its control, which very few people anticipated, itself least of all.

American diplomacy seems not to be able to get over its anger because of recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. The great Uncle Sam, accustomed to have the last word everywhere, seems unable to forgive his remote, young, and unknown "nephews" (Croatia and Slovenia) for having done something without asking him. When you do not listen to uncle, then he does things his way, he does not listen to pleas, and he will not hear of any kind of aid because of the insubordination. That stance is actually the most painful one for Croatia. By denying recognition, Uncle Sam stands in the way of Croatia's entry into the United Nations. But also into the most important world financial institutions, which could be disastrous for Croatia. Croatia, destroyed and devastated by the war, with hundreds of thousands of refugees, is dependent on international loans. Without them, Croatia will face an economic abyss and will be driven into a political trap.

The tug-of-war over additional costs for the UN troops that are supposed to go to Croatia could drive Croatia into an abyss even earlier. To call upon Croatia to pay a portion

of the costs is not only immoral (which is no wonder, because morality is not even a political category in such games), but also economically, and therefore also politically, disastrous in the final analysis. Increasingly impoverished Croatia, with an average income of that of Bangladesh or Romania, could not make decisions on anything, especially about itself. Caught in that kind of trap, it would be forced to consent to everything asked of it. Which is probably why so much of that has been left open, not just concerning the cost of the peacekeeping forces. Thus, the possibility of political redefinition of the territory of the former Yugoslavia has been kept in reserve, regardless of the new political reality that has come about through international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. Squeezed in an economic trap, Croatia would go back some 40 years by a new kind of political time travel, to the time when political views and sympathies were purchased with UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] packages.

America—as Baker's last statement in fact demonstrates—has not renounced desires for influence in the area that formerly was called Yugoslavia. As a matter of fact, it does not desire merely to influence conditions, but even to determine them. At certain points by means of Bush's and Baker's statements, on other occasions by Vance's plan and by Ghali's financial package. Now that it failed to control the disintegration of this area, it intends to control its "political redefinition."

Baker Statement of Recognition Scored

92BA0592E Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 92 p 13

[Article by Vladimir Matek: "What Mr. Baker Forgot"]

[Text] If our heads were not at stake, we might even laugh. The string of pearls of American politicians who have been or still are working on the "Yugoslav crisis," and which began in what now seems the far-off summer of 1991 with the statement of Jacques Poos, Luxembourg foreign minister, to the effect that in the future Europe does not want to have to deal with a string of little states (yet his own is smaller than one of the former Zagreb opcinas), has now received its crowning gem from American Secretary of State James Baker. As reported by the Voice of America and carried by HINA [Croatian News Agency], the most responsible person in American foreign policy made a statement before a Senate subcommittee to the effect that he continues to resist recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia because last year they resorted to force in order to realize their aspirations for independence.

If the phrase "resort to violence" had been used only once, we might still believe in the impreciseness of expression or a translator's mistake. But the same words are repeated twice more. In the very next sentence, it adds that Mr. Baker had declared that it would be difficult for the United States to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia while at the same time it is appealing to the states of

the former USSR not to change their borders by the use of force, and immediately after that it says that Baker also emphasized the following:

"For good reasons, which we can respect and understand, some group or nationality can proclaim independence and want the other countries of the world to recognize it. That is fine, and there will be other such situations. But if that nationality takes additional steps using force, then difficulties arise."

Although he attempted to soften that hard stand at least to some extent by recalling that the United States severely condemned Serbia's behavior in the war in Yugoslavia, still it is difficult not to ask the American secretary of state if he has not confused certain things. After all, it was nevertheless someone else who first resorted to force in the former Yugoslav federation.

Even when the Serbian extremists, egged on from Belgrade, and the alleged "Yugoslav People's Army" (JNA) were already firing weapons all over Croatia and threatening Slovenia, compromised proposals were offered from Zagreb and Ljubljana first to modify the federation, based on democratic relations, and then for confederation, and finally even for some kind of alliance of states after a model similar to the one later applied in the disintegration of the USSR. But all was in vain. Serbia and the top federal leadership, especially the top army leadership, which had placed itself at Serbia's service, did not like any of those proposals. Just as earlier they did not like the reforms that were initiated and that sooner or later would have abolished their monopoly over power in the former Yugoslavia and prevented the planned coup first in Kosovo and Vojvodina and then in all the other constituents of the former federation.

They, not Croatia and Slovenia, used any means that came to hand in order to prevent entry of the Yugoslavia of that time in the European Council (it is well-known what mandatory acceptance of the Convention on Human Rights would have signified for their policy, especially the policy in Kosovo). They, not Croatia and Slovenia, also did everything to prevent acquisition of the status of an associate member of two European economic groupings (the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and the EC), because that would have presupposed a turn in the direction of a market economy, which indirectly would have put an end to their power.

In their project based on the notorious Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, it is they, not Croatia and Slovenia, that had the objective (nor did they conceal it) of changing borders, because—"if we do not know how to work, we do know how to wage war." That is, it was the Serbian elite and the army elite that needed, precisely on that basis, the grain from Vojvodina, the coal from Kosovo, the petroleum for Slavonia, and the hard currency from tourism on the Adriatic.

To that end, and also in order to prevent democratization, it is they, not Croatia and Slovenia, that applied force. Some people may not like it, but Croatia and Slovenia

were only defending themselves. And at the same time defending their right to democratic development such as those in Belgrade did not want to accept at any price.

Does Mr. Baker perhaps think that they did not have the right even to that? To be sure, he would probably have slept more peacefully if the Croats and Slovenes had humbly bowed down to the only government in the world that supported the Moscow putschists. But it is America itself that greatly contributed to the fact that they did not—through its constant urging of the fight for human rights, multiparty democracy, and a market economy. When he accuses Croatia and Slovenia of what the other side resorted to (those who are well-informed say: even with his blessing, at least at the outset), is Mr. Baker renouncing those great principles?

Federal

Kostic Blames Presidency for SFRY Disintegration

LD0603162392 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1500 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Dr. Branko Kostic accused President of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, former State Presidency President Stjepan Mesic, former Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar and former Yugoslav Defence Minister Veljko Kadijevic of contributing the most to the break-up of Yugoslavia.

At a Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) panel in Pancevo near Belgrade last night, Kostic said that the "disintegration of Yugoslavia was carried out with ample help from Germany, to which whole Europe could not stand up", as the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today.

Kostic noted that the European Community also played a part in such dishonorable intentions. He said that the whole scenario was based on blocking the work of the Yugoslav Presidency and on leaving the Army without a command. We prevented that, he underscored, although they imputed putschist intentions to us.

Kostic said that, despite the EC's behaviour, it is increasingly evident in the world and Europe as well that Yugoslavia, as a fact, cannot be skirted. Its continuity is a strong obstacle in the way of the efforts of some neighboring countries to split Yugoslavia and cut its parts off.

Yugoslavia, reflected in the common state of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, will be the nucleus towards which all those, who cannot join it at the moment, will turn, Kostic said. He said this pertained to the Serbian people in the Krajinas, which will decide on its fate at a referendum.

The Third Yugoslavia is an optimal solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina (BIH) as well, but if it does not join the Third Yugoslavia, it will have to cantonize itself on the ethnic principle, Kostic maintains.

Army Warns 'Extremist Groups' About 9 Mar Rally

LD0703155392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for National Defense has forwarded to TANJUG the following statement in connection with the 9 March rally:

"In view of the plans of some extremist groups from within the country and abroad to use the 9 March rally to attack vital targets, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, while not questioning the right of political parties and citizens to express their convictions and demands at public rallies, stresses that it will respond according to military regulations to any attack on JNA [Yugoslav Peoples Army] soldiers, military facilities, and buildings which the JNA is protecting."

Army Command Moves From Macedonia to Serbia

LD0703223492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] The Third Army District Command has been transferred from Skopje to Nis, in Serbia. Officers deciding to remain in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] have left the building that formerly housed the command. Officers deciding to join the Macedonian armed forces have held a meeting on the handover of the command building, which is due to take place in next few days. A commission supervising the handover of the infrastructure and buildings on the Macedonian border is bringing its task to a close. It is expected that the remaining JNA members will leave Macedonia soon.

Muslim Leader Considers Coexistence Possible

LD0603155192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1345 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The leader of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia, Reis-ul-Ulema Jakub Selimoski, believes that life "in peace, love and tolerance" is possible in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement made on the occasion of the biggest Muslim holiday in the year, Ramadan, and carried today by the Belgrade daily BORBA, Selimoski says that "coexistence is possible, that everybody must exercise tolerance, love, respect for differences and the opinions of others."

"This is an achievement of civilization the most needed in these lands," Selimoski said.

Bosnia-Herzegovina has been shaken by ethnic strife in the past few days after the killing of a Serb in the republic's capital of Sarajevo on Sunday. The incident was followed by the throwing up of barricades in Sarajevo and clashes in some other parts of the republic, which claimed their toll in dead and wounded.

The population of Bosnia-Herzegovina is 44 percent Muslim, 32 percent Serb and 17 percent Croat. Power in

the republic is shared by three ethnic parties—the Muslims' Party of Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Izetbegovic, Karadzic Comment on Situation

AU0303232092 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Report on statements by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party and Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency by Zoran Lukovic in Sarajevo on 3 March—recorded]

[Text] In the course of the evening, as we have said, we have received the latest news from Sarajevo. Our reporter contacted us for the third time immediately before the beginning of the Dnevnik news program with new information, so let us hear what the latest news is:

[Lukovic] About 15 or 20 minutes ago, YUTEL viewers were addressed through two telephone calls first by Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party] and then by Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency].

Karadzic claimed that an organized mobilization of Muslims is under way, moving toward the Serbian districts of Sarajevo and attacking these districts. He also said that some Serbs have been injured. He also said that Serbs outside Sarajevo have offered to come and help, but he had told them to remain where they are for now.

Alija Izetbegovic, however, who addressed the viewers immediately after Karadzic, said that everything began because groups of armed Serbs had appeared at the outskirts of Sarajevo. He said that it is true that Muslims have been partially mobilized, due to the fear and panic among them.

At the moment, apart from these two statements, nothing more can be said, but the very fact that both Karadzic and Izetbegovic have spoken says enough. Everything that happens tonight, and let us hope that it will be neither tragic nor excessively dangerous, will be sorted out within 30 minutes to an hour.

At the moment it is impossible to say anything beyond what has already been said.

[Announcer] The footage that you saw during the report from our colleague Lukovic is footage that we received from Sarajevo Television this evening. We should say that it has been announced that in 10 or 15 minutes time Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party and Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, will be having talks with General Kukanjac [commander of Second Army District] in Sarajevo in the Sarajevo garrison. Let us hope that these talks will bear fruit and that the tension will diminish. If there is new

information, we expect our reporter to come back during the course of the program, if this is possible considering the state of the telephone lines.

President Izetbegovic Says 'Danger Is Over'

AU0703164092 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG
in Hungarian 4 Mar 92 p 1

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency, by Laszlo Kovacs; place and date not given: "Alija Izetbegovic: The Danger Is Over"]

[Text] According to news received from Sarajevo, people are beginning to calm down and they are able to step away from the verge of a civil war. UJ MAGYARORSZAG interviewed Alija Izetbegovic on the latest developments in this central Yugoslav republic.

[Izetbegovic] The recent referendum on Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty and independence proved something that I have never doubted. Regardless of nationality, a vast majority of the republic voted against the dismemberment and any kind of division of its own homeland, aware of the fact that the new conflicts endangered even the mere existence of the republic. Various nations and religions have coexisted in this region for centuries, always fostering good relations among them. I do not see any reason for not carrying this on in the future, in spite of the fact that certain extremist groups, led by their hegemonistic aims, want to estrange the nations that are living here. A large number of our Serbian citizens also fulfilled their constitutional right and obligation and turned up to vote in spite of the threats and intimidation.

[Kovacs] Mr. President, what is the current situation in the streets of Sarajevo? We have heard threatening news in the last two days.

[Izetbegovic] Fortunately, the pointless action organized by the Serb Democratic Party with the aim of paralyzing the city's transport and closing the roads leading toward the city could not even last 24 hours. On the night of 3 March, tens of thousands of Sarajevo citizens went out into the streets and confronted the armed extremists, who were guarding the barricades, with their bare hands. I believe that this might have averted the danger of a possibly more tragic conflict once and forever.

Silajdzic Denies Creation of Islamic State

LD0803164592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Novi Sad, 8 March (TANJUG)—"Yugoslavia's disintegration has not unfolded along the lines of some foreign scenario. This claim is just the excuse of those who have not managed to dismantle the country in line with their own designs," Haris Silajdzic, minister for foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, says in an interview with today's MAGYAR SZO.

It was Europe, and Germany in particular, that invested most in Yugoslavia, so there are no grounds now to claim

that Bonn triggered the process of Yugoslavia's disintegration, Silajdzic said. He added that neither do neighboring countries have any interest in dismantling Yugoslavia. "True," he said, "in Italy there are groups which lay claim to certain parts of Croatia, but they are insignificant."

Commenting on possible recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina as an independent state, Silajdzic stressed that before that happens it is necessary to establish closer links between the sovereign republics within the Yugoslav area. None of them, the minister said, is competitive in the world market and their economies are geared to each other.

Silajdzic opposes the customs controls introduced by Serbia on the River Drina, and those recently introduced by Croatia. If these procedures remain in force, he said, Sarajevo, too, will have to introduce similar measures although it advocates borders with no customs and no passports. At the moment Bosnia-Herzegovina's greatest problem is its breakdown in communications. No one is going to benefit from closed borders, Silajdzic said.

"The Party of Democratic Action has never had any ambition to create an Islamic state. This is not what we want. Nor is it feasible. We aspire to civil society rather than to national cantons, since this is the only option that guarantees development and prosperity. We are not fundamentalists, as is sometimes alleged both here and abroad," Haris Silajdzic said in conclusion.

Reservists Arrive 'Unexpectedly' in Bivolje Brdo

LD0603180392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Capljina, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Unrest and tension among the population in Capljina municipality are noticeable, according to the public security station, because of the "unannounced arrival of reservists of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] in the locality of Bivolje Brdo and an incident which happened last night when reservists arrested five youths from this village and took them to Mostar."

The military authorities have so far not made any official announcement on this.

The civil authorities in Capljina are trying, in cooperation with the competent republican organs and military authorities, to calm the situation and prevent possible incidents.

According to the latest information from the municipal organs of authority in Capljina, sometime around 1300, members of the JNA withdrew from the locality of Bivolje Brdo toward Mostar. The municipal government has called on the population to return to their daily jobs and not to be taken in by provocations and disinformation.

Croats, Serbs Involved in Shoot-Out in Capljina

LD0703135692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1008 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Capljina, Yugoslavia, March 7 (TANJUG)—One person was killed and two were wounded last night in a

shooting incident in Capljina, in the multi-ethnic Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croats from one town and Serbs from another were engaged in the heavy fighting. Shots were heard also in a Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) barracks which houses reservists. There is no detailed information about last night's conflict yet.

The population in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, predominantly Croats, have been against the presence of JNA units for several months. The conflict escalated recently when inter-ethnic fighting flared in the entire republic.

Uzice Corps Issues Warning

LD0703164792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Nevesinje, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Uzice Corps command's information service today reports that small arms and mortars were fired at the Miro Popara military barracks, in Capljina, from the Croatian paramilitary formations' side last night.

Members of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) were forced to return fire because their lives were in danger, the statement says, adding that no Army members were injured in that armed incident.

The Uzice Corps command, the statement says, once again warns the public and government bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Capljina Municipality about the complex situation in this region, where completely unprovoked incidents and attacks on JNA buildings and members are becoming increasingly frequent. It is characteristic that the government bodies in Capljina are waging a fierce anti-Army campaign and are calling for the relocation of garrisons, while, on the other hand, they are not disturbed by the presence of Croatian paramilitary formations in this area, the Uzice Corps command statement concludes.

No Agreement on JNA Blockade

LD0703224692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2158 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Mostar, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—A high-ranking delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina officials, headed by a member of Bosnian Presidency, Biljana Plavsic, and a Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) delegation headed by the Commander of the Uzice Corps, Maj-Gen Milan Torbica, have failed to reach an agreement on whether to unblock the Mostar-Capljina rail line and JNA barracks in Capljina and on the withdrawal of JNA units from Pijesti and Bivolje Brdo locations.

In a statement for the press, Biljana Plavsic has stressed that this evening they have however agreed on a tactic for tomorrow's talks in Tasovceci and Zitomislici in the Capljina municipality. He added that all parties showed good will to resolve conflicts in a peaceful way.

Tension 'Likely To Escalate'

LD0803193692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1514 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Trebinje, March 8 (TANJUG)—Tension in Capljina (Herzegovina) is likely to escalate into a larger-scale armed conflict, the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) second operative group for Herzegovina said in an announcement today.

Representatives of the Uzice Corps have asked the authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the local authorities of Capljina to remove the barricades, unblock the army barracks and provide regular supplies to the JNA members in the barracks, as set out in the announcement.

They also demanded that the pro-Ustashi paramilitary formations stop provocations against the JNA troops and facilities located in the valley of the River Neretva and that the Croatian armed formations be forbidden to enter Capljina to provoke JNA members.

If the requests are not met, the JNA will be compelled to use all the available means to protect the lives of its members and its facilities in the Neretva valley, the announcement said.

Paper Details Paramilitary in Bosnia

LD0603213192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1246 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI says today that the Croatian Army general staff in Zagreb controls over 110,000 members of Moslem and Croatian paramilitary formations in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The paper writes that a special department of the general staff is in charge of the timetable and methods of deploying the party armies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, their arming and leadership.

The department, comprising Army experts and analysts who have already proven themselves as capable of stirring up conflicts between Croats and Serbs in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, focuses on western Herzegovina and central Bosnia, the regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina with majority Croat and Moslem populations, the paper says.

Bosnia-Herzegovina's three biggest nations are: Moslems (44 per cent), Serbs (32 per cent) and Croats (17 per cent). In western Herzegovina and central Bosnia there are some 20,000 armed members of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the Croatian Defence Forces (HOS)—the military wing of the extreme right Croatian Party of Rights (HSP)—as well as 30,000 members of the Democratic Action Party (SDA) which includes Moslems, the paper adds.

The paper says that all communities, acting upon orders from Zagreb, have set up military headquarters, whose general command is in Sarajevo, while each regional headquarters, has a unit (with 40-150 men) made up of

saboteurs trained to go into action at the "right" moment. The command cadre of the HDZ and SDA party armies, the paper says, was trained in Libya and on the Croatian battlefield. Today's BORBA also carries new information on party armies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and highlights the so-called "green berets", a Moslem paramilitary formation which is expected, according to Sarajevo circles, to shortly "grow into a regular army of Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"The green berets", 6,000 of whom are in Sarajevo alone, are organized on the model of the Croatian national guard. They are trained by former officers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and solely financed by "circles close to SDA", BORBA says. BORBA claims that two more similar Moslem paramilitary formations have been created, one of which, "Bosnia," has over armed 10,000 men. The current tension in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been caused by disagreement between the nationalist parties of the three constituent peoples—Serbs, Moslems and Croats—on the Republic's future organization.

Serbian Leader Says Western Bosnia 'Croatian'

AU0703160192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Interview with Bozidar Vucurovic, president of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Eastern Herzegovina, by Momcilo Boskovic on 7 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Boskovic] Judging by the latest news that has arrived in our studio, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is becoming increasingly complicated. Last night and today there was shooting in some parts of Herzegovina. Some people were wounded. Roads and barracks have been blocked. Mr. Vucurovic, what do you, as president of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Eastern Herzegovina, say about all this? Where is this leading to?

[Vucurovic] First of all I would like to tell you that those who told you that there is peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina are lying, or here in Western Herzegovina, which is no longer part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is completely Croatian, because the Croatian currency is already being used there, because the Croatian flags are flying there, and because the Croatian army is roaming there. What else do we need to say to prove that this is not the case?

[Boskovic] Could you tell us more precisely what has been happening, what unpleasant events have taken place there?

[Vucurovic] I would like to tell you that enormous armies, irregular armies, are allowed to go through Western Herzegovina; they are allowed to move freely, everyone is allowed this except the Yugoslav People's Army. The army that is left in Capljina, whatever is left of it, is constantly being attacked and driven out of Capljina.

Yesterday, there was some shooting in Mostar. A water facility, a guard protecting the water facility in Mostar was attacked. Last night, in the course of the night there were three armed attacks. The first took place about 1900, when fire was opened on the Serbian village of Tasovcici from

across the Neretva and on the military barracks in Capljina. This was repeated at 1030 and again about 0300 this morning, when the Army had to return fire. Two bombs fell on the barracks but there were no casualties.

The situation here is just like in the boiling Bosnian stew, as people say. I think that a clash is in sight.

[Boskovic] President Vucurovic, is this the calm before a storm?

[Vucurovic] It would be foolish to expect that Croats and Serbs can live together in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

EC Observers Confirm Referendum 'Regular'

LD0603230192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1625 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Brussels, March 6 (TANJUG)—Members of the delegation of the European Parliament which monitored the recent referendum on the independence of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina said today that the referendum was regular, despite certain "technical shortcomings" and the "indisputable boycott" by the Serbs.

The European parliamentarians, who stayed in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the request of the E.C. Council of Ministers, said that it was their impression, after visiting 60 polling stations, that the balloting was "relatively well and honestly organized." At the referendum held last weekend, over 60 percent of voters said yes to the independence of multi-national Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbs, who comprise 31 percent of the Republic's 4.3 million inhabitants, boycotted the referendum because they had voted to stay in Yugoslavia in an earlier one. Contrary to Serbs, the two other constituent peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina—Muslims and Croats—insist on the Republic's independence. Muslims make up 4 percent [figure as received] of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croats 17 percent.

Riots broke out in Sarajevo last weekend after a Serbian wedding party was attacked and a Serb killed. A number of people were killed in the unrest.

The European observers said that, despite the "eruption of violence" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they had come to believe that the citizens of that Republic wanted to live in a reasonable manner and in peace.

SDA Issues Communique on Referendum

LD0803104192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—The votes of the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the referendum on the republic's status in the wake of Yugoslavia's disintegration demonstrated the citizens' attitude as early as the end of the first day, guaranteeing that the referendum was going to be successful. So states today's extensive communique from the Party of Democratic Action [SDA].

The assault on the Serbian wedding party, the SDA goes on to say, and the murder of one of the wedding guests in

Bascarsija on the last day of February was the bogus trigger for a scenario, drawn up in advance, to topple the legal authorities of Bosnia-Herzegovina and divide it along ethnic lines. The Serbian Democratic Party and some remnants of the Yugoslav Army participated in the enactment of this scenario, the SDA claims.

The SDA, in its comprehensive communique, lists recent events based on reports filed by its members and evidence gathered by citizens in some parts of the city and its environs. It claims that the aim of Alija Izetbegovic's demand to address the people outside the assembly at 2200 on 29 February was to expose the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency to an assassination attempt.

In its statement today the SDA claims that plainclothes officers from the Yugoslav army also took part in erecting barricades and carrying out the operation. The army is also accused of sending large forces into Sarajevo that night, while the barricades were set up to provoke the Ministry for Internal Affairs into intervening and to incite direct confrontations between Serbs and Moslems. This would have justified the army's interference and enabled the militant pro-Chetnik forces to incite unrest and bloodshed in Sarajevo, the communique says. According to the SDA, this would have amounted to the occupation of Sarajevo and the toppling of the legally elected authorities.

In this party's view, clashes were averted because thousands of Sarajevo's unarmed citizens took to the barricades and forced the armed civilians to withdraw. The erection of double barricades in Sarajevo itself and others on the approaches to the city and the peoples' resolve to defend themselves foiled the plan, according to which large military formations would have entered the city and triggered bloodshed. The decisive factors in dismantling the barricades were the movement of several thousand people heading for the barriers and the agreement reached by Izetbegovic, Karadzic, and Kukanjac.

The loss of human lives and a great deal of material damage were the consequences of all these events, the SDA maintains. There was damage to 11 out of the 15 tram cars which were used as barricades, while seven kiosks and the Vidikovac restaurant were broken into and their inventories stolen. The damage has been roughly estimated at more than 5 million dinars, the SDA says.

Bosnian Democratic Union Criticizes President

92BA0577B Belgrade *POLITIKA*
in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 92 p 20

[Article by M.C.: "Izetbegovic Did Not Pass the Test"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Feb—Among the many reactions in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] after the initial agreements of the three ethnic parties and representatives of the EC, the umbrella organization Bosnian Democratic Union took a harsh position. One of the things it alleges is that the president of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] did not pass the test in Lisbon "in the higher education of European politics."

"Mr. Alija Izetbegovic merely believed in everything he did not know, and he probably still does not know that when he entered politics, he entered a tunnel from which no ignoramuses have ever returned.... Military and paramilitary juntas are thus the only future now for our country of Bosnia," the Bosnian Democratic Union said in its proclamation.

Croatia

UN Forces' Accommodations Agreement To Be Signed

LD0603211192 Belgrade *TANJUG* in English
1641 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Zagreb, March 6 (*TANJUG*)—Vice President of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) Perica Juric said that a precise agreement between the Croatian Government and United Nations representatives regarding all the details concerning the accommodation and deployment of the peacekeeping forces would be signed soon. Juric told a press conference that Croatia did not wish to negotiate on territorial integrity. "We will not give up one single inch of Croatian land," he said.

The UN peacekeeping forces are to be deployed in the Serbian territories in Croatia and they will remain there until a political solution to the crisis is found. The Croatian authorities do not control a third of Croatia's administrative territory. Serbs in the territories where they are the majority population, proclaimed their Republic in answer to Croatia's secession.

Serbs in Croatia voted to remain in Yugoslavia last year, but against remaining in an independent Croatia in which they have been degraded to a national minority. Juric also said that "after the departure of the peacekeeping forces only the legal order of the state of Croatia would be valid throughout the Republic of Croatia." The UN peace plan envisages that local police will be in charge of ensuring order in the Serbian territories while they are under UN protection. However, the Croatian authorities have announced that they will set up Croatian police stations in these territories. The setting up of new Croatian police stations last year in places where the Serbs are the majority population, was the direct cause for the start of conflicts.

Juric said that Croatia "will do all in order that the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina is resolved in a peaceful manner and by political agreement between all three peoples."

"The minimum we will insist on is that the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina must be a constituent and sovereign people on its territory," said Juric. Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina account for 17 percent of the population, Moslems 44 percent and Serbs 32 percent. Croats and Moslems voted last weekend at a referendum for an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbs wish to remain in Yugoslavia and boycotted the referendum.

Cease-Fire Talks Postponed in Vinkovci*AU0603180892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] A meeting in Vinkovci was scheduled today among representatives of the EC observers mission, the Yugoslav People's Army, and Croatian forces. At the request of the Croatian side, the meeting was postponed. Dragan Zivanovic reports from Mirkovci:

[Begin Zivanovic recording] At today's regular 13th meeting, representatives of the European mission, the Yugoslav Army, and the Croatian forces should have discussed respect for the truce in western Srem and Slavonia and the exchange of prisoners. The meeting was postponed indefinitely, however, at the request of the Croatian side.

Mr. Bonamentura [name as heard], head of the European commission, did not want to comment on the postponement, but he told me that the reasons for such an act are unknown, as is the date of the next meeting.

We learned in Mirkovci that there was a clash in Vinkovci several days ago between the Croatian Army and Paraga's forces. It can therefore be assumed that the reason for the postponement is the inability to guarantee the safety of the representatives of the European observers commission and the Yugoslav Army.

Otherwise, there have been no major incidents or cease-fire violations in the last few days in this area, and the telephone hot line between Mirkovci and Vinkovci is working normally. Let me add that it was peaceful last night and today in the region under the jurisdiction of the Third Guard Brigade. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Cited on Iran's Recognition*LD0903094492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 8 Mar 92*

[Text] In reaction to a very good piece of news from Slovene sources to the effect that the Islamic Republic of Iran has recognized Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic has said that this marks the beginning of a series of recognitions by Islamic, Arab, and other countries. In addition to Turkey which is a Euro-Asian country, Iran is the first Asian country to recognize Croatia.

Minister Separovic believes that in addition to our general policy and the just nature of our requests for recognition, and the suffering caused by the war on the territory of Croatia, a special contribution was made by Sefko Omerbasic, president of the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community in Croatia and Slovenia and chairman of the committee for relations with Arab and Islamic countries of the Croatian Foreign Affairs Ministry, who visited Iran at the beginning of February.

Crisis Headquarters' Offer To Disband Accepted*LD0803111992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] The Croatian Government, presided over by Franjo Greguric, has decided to accept the proposal of its Crisis Headquarters and has suggested that the president of the Republic pass a decision that the term of office of the Crisis Headquarters be terminated.

This proposal points out: Bearing in mind the authority of the municipal Crisis Headquarters; the authority of the commissioners of the Government of the Republic of Croatia who are carrying out the tasks of the municipal Crisis Headquarters for the territories of those municipalities which at this moment are not controlled by the authorities of the Republic of Croatia; the fact that it is possible for the legal organs of authority to operate in most territories of the Republic of Croatia; and the fact that the Crisis Headquarters have by and large achieved the goals set out at their formation, the Crisis Headquarters of the Government of the Republic of Croatia maintains that conditions have been met for disbanding the Crisis Headquarters.

The government also debated a number of issues regarding Croatia's international relations, including its preparations for the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels.

Krajina Protests Serbian Move Against Opposition*LD0803004492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2258 GMT 7 Mar 92*

[Text] Knin, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina hereby expresses a strong protest over the sending of 450 policemen of the Republic of Serbian Krajina to Belgrade. The policemen were sent in order to put them into the service of the ruling regime in Serbia against the Serbian democratic opposition parties. These parties have a legitimate right to hold a protest rally on 9 March and to question the responsibility of the Serbian authorities for the situation in Serbia itself and for the situation in which the entire Serbian people find themselves.

The above is contained in a statement signed by Prime Minister Risto Matkovic. The government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina concludes that there is no reason for the Republic of Serbian Krajina to be directly involved in the political life in Serbia in any way, particularly not with armed force.

The statement adds that the government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina expresses its principled protest over the abuse of some members of the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs. It also stresses that the intentions of those who are taking away a considerable number of Krajina policemen from the Republic of Serbian Krajina, thus weakening its defensive strength when it faces the threat of fresh armed aggression launched by Croatia, are neither honorable nor

patriotic. This shows that the ruling regime in Belgrade will stop at nothing to keep its power, the statement says in conclusion.

Knin Assembly Discusses Cooperation With UN Forces

AU0603182292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Danko Peric report]

[Text] The Knin communal assembly and the newly-formed communes in the war-torn crisis regions around Knin are ready to cooperate with the blue helmets. This can be concluded on the basis of the decisions made at today's session of the assembly, which was also attended by representatives from the outlying areas of this commune.

It was decided to set up an inter-commune committee for cooperation with the United Nations, to include representatives from Knin, Vrlika, Drnis, and (?Badiskovci) and representatives of the communal Executive Council. Professor Lazar Macura was named committee president.

It was also decided to organize a meeting between the presidium of the assembly and executive council and the leadership of the Knin militia station to agree on how the militia will function while Knin is under the control of the UN forces. One of the decisions was to ask the Social Accounting Service in New Belgrade to unfreeze the accounts of the Knin commune and those of the institutions and organizations founded by this assembly.

Federal Navy Asked To Help Protect Coast

LD0603211992 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1404 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia has recently requested from the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) that its Navy in the future protect the Croatian part of the Adriatic Sea and coast, the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI learns today.

The daily cites reliable, but unofficial sources, saying that Croatian Naval Minister Davorin Rudolf has proposed to the JNA naval base on the Island of Vis that Croatia "pays" for the protection of its part of the Adriatic.

The JNA is described as an "occupation army" by the Croatian authorities, who demand its withdrawal from the present administrative boundaries of Croatia.

Following Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia, Croatian para-military formations attacked JNA garrisons stationed in Croatia and Army units protecting the Serbs in parts of this Republic with a majority Serb population which opposed the secession. The reason for the request for protection from the "occupiers" are daily intrusions into Croatian waters by Italian fishing boats who fish undisturbed and thus inflict considerable damage on the wildlife in that part of the Adriatic, writes the daily.

According to VECERNJE NOVOSTI, Rudolf has requested that four to five ships be engaged to protect the

Croatian part of the Adriatic, with the Yugoslav Navy having the right to choose the crews and determine protection methods.

Defense Ministry Discusses Demobilization

LD0803115992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Representatives of the Ministry for National Defense, the Ministry for Restoration and Development, the Ministry for Labor, Social Care, and Family, the Croatian Economic Chamber, the Ministry for Education and Culture, the Ministry for Protection of the Environment, Urban Planning, and Housing Policies and Communal Services, and the Republican Department of Employment held a working session today on the subject of organizing care for wounded and unemployed members of the Croatian Army during their demobilization.

The chief problem we ought to face up to is one of how to reincorporate them into society. It was agreed that each ministry should draw up its own programmed. The priority demobilization criterion is to be applied to those who are employed by firms whose activities are of special importance for the Republic of Croatia, particularly in its restoration, to students whose conditions enable them to continue their education, to farmers whose conditions enable them to continue farming, individuals working abroad, and others.

Selectivity is of particular importance during demobilization to enable former reserve personnel to be useful in those activities which are important for the post-war restoration of Croatia. The most suitable conditions and privileges will be created for former soldiers and the wounded during their rehabilitation, training schemes, career improvement, and their search for jobs, the Ministry for National Defense says in its statement.

General on Threat Throughout Balkans

LD0503225792 Budapest MTI in English
1524 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Zagreb, March 5 (MTI)—Having lost the war in Croatia, Belgrade now seeks to preserve control over Bosnia-Herzegovina and psychologically pressures the Sarajevo leadership and international community, threatening to start a new war, Croat Army Gen. Janko Bobetko said today.

In Bobetko's view, the moment has come for the West, first of all the United States and UN to choose: either they halt aggressive pan-Serb endeavours or risk a war setting the Balkans on fire.

The EC's and the international community's lukewarm reaction to events in Bosnia-Herzegovina aggravates the situation, confirming Belgrade's belief it can do whatever it wants to do, Bobetko said.

"If things do not change, war is certain to break out in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well," he said. Answering a question, Bobetko said a war in Bosnia-Herzegovina would by no means spread to Central Europe but south. He did not

rule out the possibility of a Serb-Macedonian-Bulgarian-Greek conflict, perhaps involving Turkey as well.

"An internal conflict within Serbia is quite a realistic possibility because of both political and economic reasons," Bobetko said.

U.S. Policy on Croatia Criticized

92BA0592A Zagreb VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 92 p 5

[Article by Stjepo Martinovic: "What Is America After?"]

[Text] If truth and justice ruled the world, that would be something "for Ripley." In our imperfect world, the news that the Serbian regime is preparing a law on self-determination of nationalities to be offered to the United Nations as a medium for resolving the status of the "Serbian regions in Croatia" is only a political fact. After all, the one for whom that "document" is intended, it seems, does not notice that this is one of many "artifacts" from Belgrade that—systematically ignoring the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia, the assessments of the Badinter Commission, the views of the UN Commission for Human Rights, the views of the European governments... intends to prejudice the "overall solution of the Yugoslav crisis" so that it might convert the Serbian aggression against Croatia into an internationally confirmed change of borders by peaceful means. It might even get away with it!

That is, the United States—as a central arbiter in resolving the crisis—is already little by little copying on the grave of the SFRY the model applied concerning the dissolution of the USSR. Allowing the Serbian regime to grow into the former federal institutions in Russian fashion—which Belgrade is managing to do, probably even beyond its own expectations. In spite of the finding of the conference in The Hague that "Yugoslavia is disintegrating," Cyrus Vance speaks of legitimate "Serbian federal authority." Ambassador Warren Zimmermann meets with Aleksandar Mitrovic—and feels no need to deny TANJUG's report that he recognizes the legitimacy of the Serbianized "FEC" [Federal Executive Council]. Neither the KESS [Conference on European Security and Cooperation] nor the United Nations is thinking about delegitimizing the non-existent SFRY. What is more, only it is mentioned in the resolutions on the sending of the blue helmets—so that even Jovic's "state committee for cooperation with the United Nations" is accepted as a legitimate federal body. Serbia's worming its way into those institutions has been so successful that one can say that scrupulousness in international relations has been given a hard slap.

It is easy to spot the roots of the understanding foreign factors have shown the Serbian interpretation of internationalization of the resolution of the "Yugoslav crisis": The United States, fettered by the Kissinger dogma of stability (worth ignoring every principle!), prefers a peace achieved by moderate satisfaction of Serbian appetites than a painful search for it at the price of balancing the

interests of all the sides. We should not be surprised, then, that on the East River, with a gentle hint from Washington, they are showing touching inclinations toward Serbian coordination of the "local authorities" formed by "opstina elections" in the occupied areas, and even to some kind of Namibian solution, in which justice would be granted to whoever has the power.

Unfortunately, the creators of Croatian political strategy seem for the first time to have faced the truth that politics and ethics abhor one another. In the belief that the foreign factors would never agree to having the occupation of a third of its state territory cast in stone through diplomacy, the Croatian side underestimated the lessons of history. It believes in abstract justice, refusing to see why Washington does not acknowledge that the Serbian war against us was a war of conquests. It is keeping silence about Baker's statement carried by the Voice of America, in which White House refusal to recognize Croatia (and Slovenia) is justified because those republics "resorted to force in order to realize their aspirations for independence." The American secretary of state, who just the other day embarrassed Budimir Loncar when he called Serbia and the army into account in the Security Council, now says that the United States has "severely condemned Serbia's behavior in the war in Yugoslavia, but—there is blame on all sides." In other words, Serbian behavior will be condemned—and that is enough, but Croatia will be judged on the basis of an American evaluation of its behavior.

In that context, what would appear to be the extremely irrational Serbian "pushing" of the memorandum project through institutionalization that has no legal basis is becoming less and less futile puttering around and more and more a game based on a valid reading of American Balkan policy and the mental predisposition of foreign "addresses," above all the United Nations. In that way, the Serbian side has been able to record several strategic gains: It has not been proclaimed the aggressor, the legitimacy of its hangers-on in the "Krajinis" has not been invalidated, although the EC observers filed bushels of reports on the atrocities they committed—and it has not even been discouraged in its efforts to seize Yugoslavia, although everyone knows that Yugoslavia died back when the Dedinje-Topcider camarilla overturned the Constitution. Key international institutions appear not to see Milosevic's fingers in Herceg-Bosnia, Macedonia, Montenegro—nor is even Kosovo what it was (!).

The Croatian diplomatic strategy should for once operate in compliance with the knowledge that the origin of a commodity is more important to its price in the international political market than its quality. The cynical byzantinism from Belgrade is faring better at the moment than the devotion to principle coming from Zagreb. Because the latter is not what America is after.

Macedonia

Army Ready To Protect Borders 'Next Month'

LD0603225192 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2023 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Skopje, March 6 (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said today the emerging Macedonian

Army would be protecting the republic's borders as of the next month. The Yugoslav Army began to withdraw from Macedonia in mid-February, after the Yugoslav Presidency and the Macedonian authorities agreed that the Army should be "temporarily withdrawn" from the republic.

Under the agreement, part of the Army has already been pulled out, and its border units are still protecting Macedonia's borders with the neighbouring countries. Gligorov today accused Greece of "imposing an unprecedented blockade on Macedonia for the already paid oil, along with the national discrimination."

In this way, Greece "is taking revenge on the European Community members which call for Macedonia's international recognition," Gligorov set out. "This is discrediting Greece's image and harming Macedonia," he added. Greece maintains that the name "Macedonia" implies territorial claims, saying the republic could be recognized only if it changes its name to "Skopje."

Late last year, Macedonia proclaimed independence and applied for international recognition, but was recognized only by Turkey and Bulgaria.

According to the Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA, Bulgaria conditioned last month's opening of diplomatic relations with Macedonia on its "guarantees" that there is no Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. Bulgaria, Albania and Greece claim that neither the Macedonian minority nor the Macedonian people exist. Macedonia attained the status of a state-republic and the Macedonians were recognized as a nation for the first time within Yugoslavia.

Montenegro

Bulatovic on 'Common State' With Serbia

LD0803140892 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1221 GMT 8 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, March 8 (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidency of Montenegro, whose citizens opted on March 1st to remain in Yugoslavia, has said that it is the sincere wish of politicians from the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro that the best possible solutions will be found for a stable and strong new common state.

In an interview which is published in today's Belgrade daily POLITIKA, Bulatovic said that Serbia and Montenegro are preparing a constitution of the common state of Yugoslavia, which should then be adopted by the parliaments of the two Republics, and consequently by the Yugoslav Federal parliament this spring. Bulatovic underscored that the determination of Serbia and Montenegro to form a joint state does not mean that relations with the other Yugoslav republics will be severed. On the contrary, they will have to be in keeping with the actual interests, needs and possibilities of the present times, he said.

"In any case, we are eager to see the development of the political processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, hoping that reason will prevail," Bulatovic said. Asked about "changes

in the international engagement regarding Yugoslavia," Bulatovic said that the biggest obstacle had been overcome when the European Twelve had decided to consider the problems of Yugoslavia from the aspect of Yugoslav logic and Yugoslav history. Regarding the arrival of the peace forces, Bulatovic underscored that the current vital interest of Serbs living in the territories of the until recently Republic of Croatia and now the Republic of Serb Krajina, was that the "blue helmets" guarantee their security and enable the political dialogue to end in a solution which will be primarily in their interest.

The Montenegrin president said that the actual situation now urged the necessity to preserve the principle that internal boundaries cannot be changed. However, the principle that these boundaries should be corrected on the grounds of a peaceful and democratic agreement, with the help of international arbitration, should be urged at all times.

Presidency To Report on Referendum

LD0803134792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 7 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin constitution will be written in parallel with the constitution of the future common state, a statement from the Presidency of the republican Assembly says.

The Presidency has also decided that a session of the Montenegrin Parliament should be held on 31 March. At this session it is expected that deputies will hear an official report on the results of the recent referendum on the creation of a common state "with other republics which so wish."

All political parties represented in Parliament have been invited to take part in the drafting of the new republican constitution. The Democratic Coalition, which includes parties of Muslims and Albanians, has agreed to the proposal but is seeking to hold talks first with representatives of the republican government. Assembly President Risto Vukcevic has proposed that the new constitution be drafted by a professional group of experts.

First Privately Owned Bank Founded

LD0603215792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0516 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, March 6 (TANJUG)—The first privately-owned bank in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro has been founded in Titograd. The bank will initially have branch offices in Niksic, Rozaje and Bijelo Polje.

Some 450 partners have already invested about 37 million dinars of founding capital, and the first share issue is expected to be sold out by the end of this month, bank executive board president Milorad Vukotic has said.

The bank will in particular provide financial backing for industrial programmes, including the wood-processing and textile sectors in Rozaje and Bijelo Polje. The new bank will have its own information system, organized in cooperation with the Italian firm Energo Data-Olivetti.

Serbia**Milosevic Resignation Petition Draws 579,000**

*LD0603205492 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1949 GMT 6 Mar 92*

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia announced today that, according to incomplete figures, 579,000 people had signed a petition for the resignation of President Slobodan Milosevic and calling of the elections for a constituent assembly.

Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic, has the population of 9,721,117, according to last year's census.

Of the 1,600,000 residents of Serbia's capital of Belgrade, 215,000 signed the petition in the past three weeks, and so did 364,000 people in other Serbian towns. A leader of the

Democratic Party, the second biggest opposition party in Serbia, recently told reporters that Milosevic's resignation "was not sufficient for Serbia's democratization." He said the calling of the elections for a constituent assembly was the more important part of the petition.

Slobodan Milosevic was elected president by a large majority in the first post-war multi-party elections in December 1990. Among the 29 candidates, he won 3,259,799 votes. Of the 7,033,610 voters in Serbia 5,029,123 cast their ballots in the elections. The Democratic Party said the action of signing the petition would be intensified next weekend and on March 9, when the Serbian opposition is to mark the anniversary of last year's demonstrations in Belgrade. This year's opposition rally is organized by the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party, the two largest opposition parties in the Serbian parliament.